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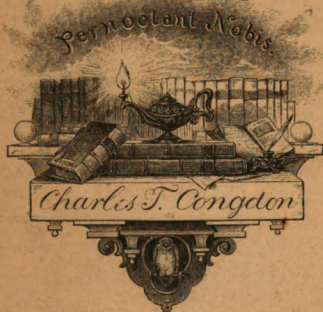
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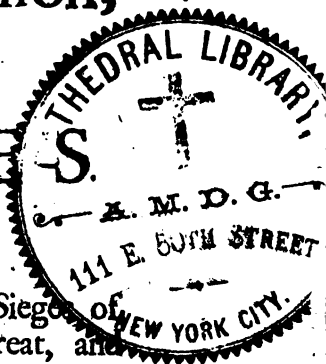
Peter D'Aubuffon,

Grand Master of

R H O D E S.

Containing

Those Two Remarkable Sieges of
Rhodes by *Mahomet* the Great, and
Solyman the Magnificent, being lately
added to compleat the Story ad-
orn'd with the choicest Occurren-
ces in the *Turkish* Empire at that
Time.



L O N D O N,

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To the

READER.

MEN of Active Spirits, and designing Fame and honour hereafter, can no where better benefit themselves than by reading the lives of such Persons as have trod the same steps before them. For in the lives of great Personages they find those Exam-
A 2 ples

To the Reader.

ples^d of Conduct which they are either to follow or avoid. Since that by celebrating the deeds of good men, they that come after are incited to deserve well of mankind. To this purpose the Author of this short story chose to revive the memory of Peter D'Aubuffon, Grand Master of Rhodes, a Person for courage and piety not inferiour to any of his time.

For the truth of what he writes, He informes ye where he had it; from an ancient Manuscript written-

To the Reader.

*ten by William Caourfin,
Chancellour of the Order,
who wrote nothing but what
he was an eye-witness off.
As also from several other
original Papers which he
found in Malta it self. Nor
did he refuse the help of
Khodgia Afendy, a Turk,
who living at the same time,
wrote a Relation of the
Siege with a great deal of
Justice to the high merits
of the Grand Master.*

*Thus then the vigorous fu-
ry of Mahomet, the zealous
and fortunate resistance of
D' Au-*

To the Reader.

D'Aubuffon, the misfortunes of Zizim, a pleasing yet melancholy variety, though inseparable from the story, being the Subjects of this Relation, 'tis something probable that they that seek either for instruction or diversion, cannot fail of their expectation. However it is wholly left to them, to be either severe or Candid Judges, as they find most Reason.

The loss of Rhodes is added not only to complete the story, but to revive the
renown

To the Reader.

renown of the Great and
Famous Villerius, who su-
stain'd the whole power of
the magnificent, Solyman
till his Pride was quite
tyr'd out. Insomuch that
had not Treachery with-
in, put a fatal period to
the flourishing Estate of
Rhodes, Solyman might
have waited long enough
upon Palermos for the
conquest of that City. In
short they that read to
the end of these few Pa-
ges, will find variety suf-
ficient for so small a vo-
lume,

To the Reader.

*lume, and a recital of such
actions as rather deserv'd
the Grandeur of a He-
roick Poem, then the ordi-
nary dress of Prose.*

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
Peter D'Aubuffon,
Great Master of
RHODES.

Peter D'Aubuffon, whose History I have undertaken to write, was by providence chosen out among the French about two hundred years since, to set bounds to the Conquests of the Infidels. And He it was that sav'd Rome from the destiny of Constantinople, defending *Rhodes* against all the force of Mahomet the second, Emperour of the *Turks*.

He was the Son of *Reginald D'Aubuffon*, Lord of *Monteil-au-Viv* *comte* in *Marche*, and *Margaret* of *Comborn*, both of the most Ancient and Illustrious Houses in the Kingdom. He receiv'd from nature,

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together with a Noble Birth, a strong and proportionable body, fit for great undertakings ; a quick wit, and virtuous inclinations,

As he was born valiant, and that the fiery constitution of his body, could not away with an idle life, he took upon him the profession of Arms, so soon as he was of Age to handle a sword.

The Truce which had been concluded between *France* and *England*, by the address of *Cardinal Sainte Croix*, Legate to Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, and the Peace which follow'd, oblig'd him to seek for Employment and Honour in *Germany*.

The Emperour *Sigismund* had potent enemies both at home and abroad. The *Hussites* made war against him in *Bohemia* ; and though they seem'd inclinable to a submission after the bloody Battel of *Pragne*, where they lost above twenty thousand men, yet Rebellion was all they had in their thoughts. They were also so much the more to be fear'd, by how much they were highly intrag'd
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at their defeat, and that rage redoubl'd in some measure the zeal which serv'd for the pretence of their Revolt.

But the greatest mischief was in *Hungary*, where the *Turks* made horrible havocks. *Sigismund*, who was at that time tak'n up with the affairs of the Council of *Basle*, not being able to oppose himself against the Torrent which threatned to overflow all *Germany*; sent away with all speed; *Albert Duke of Austria* his Son-in-law, to repel the *Barbarians*.

Aubusson by chance, or rather by a particular Providence of Heaven, got a Command in this Army. For providence having design'd him to a Profession and a Trust that concern'd the Defence of Christendom, so order'd it; that he should perform his first feats of Arms against the enemies thereof.

The Prince march'd with all the hast he could, and though far inferior in number, he no sooner discover'd the *Ottoman* Army, but he fell on with out any farther deliberation. The beginning of the Combat favor'd

the Imperialists, They overturn'd at first whatever Resistance oppos'd them, and made a very great slaughter. *Aubusson*, who felt his courage kindl'd upon sight of the Infidels, slew a great many with his own hand, and fought alwaies in the formost Ranks. But when the Victory seem'd to have been assuredly on *Alberts* side, the Turkish Cavalry surrounded that of the Christians, and fell upon them so impetuously, that they made them give way, and broke them upon the first charge. The disorder was not long. *Aubusson* rally'd all the Troops about him, and renew'd the fight under the conduct of a Hungarian, whose name is not recorded in Histories, though his valor deserves to live eternally in the memory of men.

This brave person, remarkable for his tall size of body, and his undaunted Air, together with *Aubusson*, sustain'd, almost without other Assistance, all the whole power of the Enemy; and with his battle-axe in his hand, after he had beat down several,

veral, made his way through the rest. Which Action so Resolute, as it terrifi'd the *Turks*, so it reincourag'd the Christians. All *Alberts* Troopes follow'd this new Leader, who seemd to be sent to them from Heaven; and as if they had at the same time been inspir'd with fresh Vigour, they charg'd the *Barbarians* so rudely, that eighteen thousand lay dead upon the place, the rest thought of nothing but Flight.

While the Arms of *Sigismund* had this happy success in *Hungary*, his affairs prosper'd no less in other places. The *Hussites*, weak'nd by their Losses, and either terrifi'd by the Threats, or gain'd by the Promises of Emperor, at length return'd to their duty, The Treaty of *Prague* put an end to all the Troubles of *Bohemia*, and upon a sudden the Imperial Authority was re-establish'd.

All things being thus calm'd, and *Albert* having disbanded his Troops, *Aubusson* attended the Nobility that went to the Emperour's Court. There he was receiv'd as one that contribu-

red highly to the Victory in *Hungary*; and that which was related to *Sigismund* touching the Valour of the young *French Gentleman*, engag'd that Prince to give him publick marks of his esteem and acknowledgment. But *Aubusson* not only attracted the praises and favours of the Emperour, by his first exploits in War: for he also gain'd his good will and kindness by his carriage near his person, and the care which he took to please him.

Sigismund was endu'd with all the noble Qualities of a great Prince. Besides that he was valiant, wise, religious; he lov'd Learning in particular, and had a great value for learned men, whom he preferr'd upon all occasions, before persons that had nothing to recommend them but their Birth. He was himself learned, perfectly well read in History. He understood and spoke the Latine tongue, as he made it appear at the Council of *Constance*, by the testimony of *Gerſen* Chancellour of the University of *Paris*, who was present there, and was charm'd

charm'd with the last speech of that Prince. For that reason he could not endure ignorance in his Courtiers; and would say sometimes, that he was asham'd of the Electors, who had not the least tincture of Learning.

Though *Aubusson* were endu'd with a Martial soul, and that the love of war overwayd his Inclinations, yet had he a disposition and a Genius for Learning. He had a quick and piercing wit; a happy memory, and a solid judgment. So that it was no difficult thing for him to conform himself to the humour of the Emperor; having in a short time fitted himself for all manner of addresses. After he had study'd the languages as much as was requisite for a Souldier to know; he apply'd himself to the understanding of all the noble sciences. He learnt the Mapps, the Mathematicks, and above all the rest, that part which concernes the Art of war. ~~But~~ *History* was his Principal studie; He made a kind of business & Exercise of it, reading more to instruct

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then

then divert himself. For he was not contented to charge his memory with great names, and strange Accidents, as many do that read; but he still made judicious reflections upon what he read; proposing to himself, as examples to follow, the actions of men illustrious. Above all things, he examin'd the lives of great men, and making advantage of their Vices, as well as of their Vertues, he became a Master to himself for the governing his own Manners.

Whatever love he had for reading, and what ever pleasure he took in it, yet he study'd the world more then books: and above all the world, and all books, the Emperor. As he had a free access to his person, and was with him every day, he was able to observe nere at hand his Maximes, his words his actions, and all his behaviour. But among all the Vertues of *Sigismund* he was taken with none more then his Zeal for the Christian Faith; of which he shew'd so many real marks, not only in the Councils which he upheld by his authority and presence,

presence, but also by the Wars which he undertook against the *Infidels*.

Thus the Court, which is usually the corrupted of youth, was to *Aubusson* a school of wisdom and virtue. Where, besides the love which it taught him to have for learning, and to make a sound judgment of things, he acquir'd Integrity; and became a man of Virtue and Reputation.

With such noble Inclinations as these, he might easily pretend to great employments in a Court where Justice was done to merit. And certainly he had attain'd thereto, as much a stranger as he was, had not his Fortunes been overturn'd by the Death of the Emperor.

Albert Duke of Austria, who succeeded *Sigismund*, had not for *Aubusson* those kind thoughts as his predecessors. Whether it were that he did not naturally love the *French*, or whether the Favors of the deceas'd Emperour provok'd his hatred of a stranger

Aubusson quickly percev'd that the Emperor

Emperor had got a new Master, and that the best course that he could take was to be gone. But though that Consideration might not have prevail'd with him to quit *Germany*, yet his duty would have oblig'd to return to *France*.

The Treaty at *Arras* for the accommodation between the two Kings, of *England* and *France* not taking effect, as it was hop'd, the War broke out again between the two Kings: So that there happ'nd divers sieges, and divers fights, with more heat and animosity then ever. The *English* made great spoil in the Provinces of which they were not Masters; and the *French* divided among themselves, committed as great violences every where; so that what between a Foreign and a Civil War joyn'd together, the whole Kingdom was full of confusion and horreur.

This was the state of the Affairs of *France* when *Sigismund* di'd, and that *Aubusson* forsook *Germany* to come and serve his own Country: *John D' Aubusson* Lord of *Born*, his Cousin-

Cousin-German, and Chamberlain to *Charles* the seventh, brought him to Court. So soon as he came there, his proper person, his sparkling countenance, his noble Air attracted the eyes of all upon him ; but his prudent and honest carriage, his wit, his politeness, his pleasant conversation gain'd almost the hearts of every one.

In regard he was of the County of *Marche*, and younger Son of the Vicounts of that County, the Count of *Marche*, Governour of the *Dolphin*, shew'd him great respect, and did him the honour to be his Patron. This Relation which *Aubusson* had to the Count, gave him opportunity often to wait upon the *Dolphin*, who was almost of Age. He obtain'd his love, being so happy as to share in the exercises and divertisements of the Prince. He had also the good fortune to please *Charles* the seventh, who saw in him at first sight something that was great and not common. But it was not long ere he shew'd by his actions, that what we
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conceiv'd of him, was not without good ground. He signaliz'd himself in a high measure at *Montreuil-Faut-yone*, whither he attended the *Dolphin*, who commanded at the Siege. The King who had been himself a witness of the valour of *Aubusson*, when he carry'd the City by Assault, making his entry a little while after into *Paris*, commanded his attendance upon him to Court, with the chief of his Nobility. This Entry was one of the most magnificent that ever was made : And it may be truly said to be the first day that *Charles* began to reascend his Throne. Several Cities follow'd the example of the Capital; and those that stood out were for the most part reduc'd by force. *Aubusson* every where gave signal marks of his Courage ; but upon one occasion he made it apparent that a young Warriour might be as well prudent as cunning.

At what time the power of the *English* abated in the Kingdom, that of the fair *Agnes* increas'd at Court. As she was wonderfully charming, and

and one that understood better than any woman of her sex, how to govern her Lovers, she obtain'd, in a short while an absolute Dominion over the King. But according to the custom of women, whose credit arises from their Beauty, she made but an ill use of the Kings Favours. The *Delphin*, who was not naturally very docible, could not endure a haughty and imperious woman, who had but little respect for him. On the other side, the great Authority of *Charles of Anjou*, Brother to the King of *Sicily* offended him extremely. He took it ill, that a Prince, for whom he had no kindness, should have so great a share in the confidence of his Father. So that the Favorite was no less a trouble to him then the Mistress.

But that which vex'd him most of all, was, that after the taking of *Mentereau*, where he fought so well against the *English*, that in Courtship they applauded him for it before the King, he had but a bad reception from his Father, instead of the thanks which
he

he expected. For the King perceiving that this first Essay had put up the mind of his son, he return'd him under the Discipline of his Government, and remov'd him also from the Court. Whether he were jealous of a valour that made such a noise in the world; or whether, understanding the bad disposition of the *Dolphin*, he thought this first success of his might transport him too far, if he did not take care to curb him:

The *Dolphin* dissembl'd his dissatisfaction for some time; but a young Prince once provok'd, whose passions are violent, and who never wants bad counsel, is soon weary of counterfeiting. And therefore to revenge himself like the Son of a King, he went and put himself at the head of the Rebellious Nobility.

The Count of *Marche*, to whom the revolt of his disciple was no small dishonour, omitted nothing that might reduce him to his duty. Besides what he did himself, he made use of the management of *Aubusson*, whom the Prince lov'd, and who had found a means

means to preserve his favour without confederating in the revolt. Certain it is that the *Dolphin* was of a jealous, & ticklish disposition, not easie to manage; and one of those who are of that head strong & obstinate humour, that they are seldom to be recover'd, when they have once fix'd upon their party. But *Aubusson* knew him very well, and understood which way to take him. For he had those sweet and insinuating charms, which are not incompatible with a fierce and fiery Disposition. But above all, he had a natural Eloquence, that always wrought it's Effect, and which persuades so much the more, by how much it is the less distrust'd. So that he had not much to do to make the Prince list'n to reason. He so dextrously mannag'd his passions, and mollify'd him in such sort by degrees, that when the Count of *Eu*, came afterwards to treat with him on the Kings behalf, he found him altogether inclin'd to lay down his Armes, and beg pardon.

The King was so satisfy'd with *Aubusson's* address upon this occasion, that he employ'd

employ'd him in other Negotiations of concernment. In all which he so behav'd himself, that *Charles* the fifth highly applauded the sharpness of his wit. Insomuch that one day, speaking of *Aubusson*, he said, it was a hard matter to find so much fire and so much prudence both together.

After the Princes were come to an accommodation, the War grew very warm between the French and English, and much blood was shed on both sides. But the truces that were afterwards made, chang'd the whole face of affairs. *France* began to breathe a more quiet Aire; and the pleasures which afterwards succeeded the Toyles of war, had perhaps effeminated the hearts of the souldiers; if their Marches into *Lorraine* and *Germany* had not found them work.

Rene of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily* and Duke of *Lorraine*, requested aid of *Charles* King of *France*, his Brother in Law, against some places in the Countrey of *Messin*, that would not acknowledge his Jurisdiction. *Charles* presently appears before *Nancy* with a great

great Army; of which one part went briskly to besiege Mets. The City defended it self with great courage and obstinacy. Upon which the Dolphin, with whom the tediousness of the seige did not agree, found a fair occasion to satisfy his boyling and ambitious Humour.

The Emperor *Frederick* the third, dissatisfi'd with the *Swisses*, who pretended to have nothing to do with the House of *Austria*, and who under that pretence affected a kind of Independencie, not much differing from a Revolt; invited *France* by the mediation of *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*, to come and defend the Rights of the Empire. There needed no more encouragement for the Dolphin, who had espoused the Sister of the Dutchess of *Austria*, to enter *Alsacia* with an Army. *Aubusson* was one of the young Lords that attended him, and one who had the greatest share in the defeat of the *Swisses* near *Basle*: But the Duke having reduc'd some places, and cast a terror upon others, march'd back again sooner then was expected.

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Either because the Emperour, unwilling to draw upon himself ill will, for being the occasion of the war, in some measure disown'd it; or because the *German* Lord, who had conducted the *French* Army into *Switzerland*, and was to have been their guide through all the narrow and difficult streights of the Mountains, being slain, there was no safety in proceeding farther.

In the mean time the Affair of *Mets* being brought to an accommodation, advantageous for the *Baseigers*, and honourable for the *Beseiged*; the *Embassadors* of the *German* Princes, whom the *Dolphins* march had alarm'd, came to demand a confirmation of the ancient Alliances between *France* and *Germany*. Their demands were granted them; and as there is a time when the Spirit of Peace is predominant, the truce was prolong'd for five years between *France* and *England*. The Court in such a quiet calm began to think of nothing but divertisement: and the Marriage of *Margaret*, Daughter of the
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the King of *Sicilie*, with *Henry* King of *England*, occasion'd such extraordinary rejoycings, that they had almost forgot their last troubles. Never was a more beautiful Court, nor a more numerous, then that of *Nancy*: For not to speak of the several Princes and Princesses that were of lesser dignity, there were two Kings, and three Queens beside. The Earl of *Suffolk*, who was sent to fetch the new Queen of *England*, had with him the flower of the English Nobility. Several daies were also spent in magnificent Turnaments, where the King of *France*, and the King of *Sicily* ran together.

But *Aubusson* soon grew weary of that which employ'd others so much to their delight. Besides that he naturally lov'd war, he had Principles of Piety which did not correspond with a lazie and voluptuous life. On the other side, the victories of *John Hunniades*, and *George Castriote*, which they had obtain'd against *Amurat*, inspir'd him with a new zeal for Religion: and the Cruelties which

the *Turks* exercis'd against the Christians at the Battel of *Varna*, awakn'd in him the hatred which he had conceiv'd against the Enemies of *Jesus Christ*.

He could not but with great grief of mind understand the report which ran at that time, that *Vladislaus* King of *Poland*, and Cardinal *Cesarini*, the Popes Legate had been fled alive by those Barbarians. But it was joyful news to him, that the Knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, had obtain'd several advantages against the *Saracens*; and that the Soldan of *Aegypt*, had a little before rais'd his siege from before *Rhodes*. In the midst of these thoughts, he took a resolution to fight against the Infidels, and to the end he might be indispensably engag'd thereto, he fram'd a design at the same time to embrace the military order of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*. Heaven, that inspir'd him with these high thoughts, gave him the power to execute them with speed. He departed for *Rhodes*, not all the Charms of the Court being able to detain him.

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The multitude of *French* Gentlemen that daily throng'd to *Rhodes* to be made Knights, had oblig'd the Grand-master to make an Order that none would be receiv'd, until the Treasury, exhausted by the late Wars, were somewhat replenish'd. Nevertheless *Aubusson* was admitted; whether it were that they saw in his person somewhat extraordinary that spake in his behalf, or that it were a peculiar favour, in respect to *Lewis D'Aubusson* his Uncle, one of the most famous Knights of *Rhodes*, and known in History by the name of the Commander of *Charroux*: Or whether it were that the Grand-master were inspir'd to exceed his own Rules in favour of a Person, who was afterwards to be the support of the Order.

Our new Knight had no great difficulty to undergo the usual Examinations, though at that time they were much more strict than afterwards. For all things that render a Family Illustrious, were to be found with advantage in his: For as to the antiqui-

ty of it, the original of the House of *Aubusson*, is unknown and uncertain, as of most Families in the world. But that which may be certainly averr'd is this; that in the time of *Charlemaine*, the Ancestors of *Pierre D' Aubusson* were very famous in *France*. For the Kings of the second race having settl'd Counts to govern every Province, and these Lords alwayes choosng the greatest Lords of their Province for their Lieutenants, *Jeffrey*, first Count of *Marche*, chose his Lieutenant out of the House of *Aubusson*, about the year 860. This Lieutenant to the Lord, whose name we know not, was call'd Vicount *D' Aubusson* from the name of the principal Place which he possess'd.

Turpin, who was elected Bishop of *Limoges* in the year 898, and whom *Aymar* of *Chabanois* extolls no less for the splendor of his Birth, then for the holiness of his Life, was the Son of the first Vicount of *Aubusson*, and Brother of *Reginald* the first, who was Vicount under his Father, under

under *Sulpicius* the second, Earl of *Marche*, Son of *Jefferey*.

The dignity of Vicount remain'd above four hundred years in that Family of *Aubusson*, successively from Father to Son, till that Raymund the first having no Children, sold it to *Hugues* Earl of *March*; to the prejudice of his Brother *Ranulphus D' Aubusson*, who continu'd the Posterity.

Piety and Liberality, which in those times highly distinguish'd the great Lords from those of mean extraction, were hereditary vertues in this Family. For, not to speak any thing of Bishop *Furpin*, so magnificent in all that concern'd the worship of the Altar; the Vicounts *D' Aubusson*, were alwaies very Religious, and gave considerable Donations to several Churches and Abbeys.

These Lords and their Descendants signaliz'd themselves upon several Occasions, where the interest of *France* was concern'd. Witness *Guy D' Aubusson*, who performed so many noble Acts, in the War with the *English* under *Charles* the fifth, who having re-

ceiv'd many wounds in the defence of his Castle of *Monteil*, was tak'n Prisoner with his Wife and Children by the Enemy. Witness also *John D' Aubusson*, Lord of *Borne*, *Anthony D' Aubusson*, Lord of *Villeneare*, and *Anthony D' Aubusson* Lord of *Monteil*, who made their fidelity and their zeal for the service of *Charles* the seventh appear; whose Chamberlaines they were at such a time when all the Kings Officers were Peers of high quality.

Lastly, that which infinitely advances the House of *Aubusson*, and perhaps distinguishes it from all others, is this, that being so ancient, it was never mix'd, but has still in the same County preserv'd the same Estate; so that *Francis D' Aubusson*, Duke and Peer, Marshal of *France*, and Colonel of the French Guards, possesses at this day the Signiory of *Fueillade*, which has been time out of mind in the possession of the Vicounts *D' Aubusson* his Ancestors.

But to return to our History, *Aubusson* was no sooner arriv'd at *Rhodes*,

Rhodes, but he understood that there was a peace going to be made with *Amurat*, and that it was almost concluded by the Soldan of *Egypt*. In regard he had an extream passion to fight with the enemies of Christ, this news was not overwelcome to him, only he was in hopes that it would soon be brok'n.

In the mean time he set himself to study the duty of a true Knight. Presently he understood that the Knights of *Rhodes* were to joyn together in Valour and Piety: that a cowardly Knight, or a Libertine, was something monstrous: that for them to live according to the intent of their Calling, there was a necessity for them exactly to follow the maxims of the Gospel, and that they were not to draw their Swords, but in the defence of the Church, or for the relief of the Faithful: that for that reason they wore their Cross upon their Habit, and that their Impresse was, *For the Faith*. He oft'n revolv'd in his mind the vertues and the exploits of those ancient Knights that first made themselves

selves Masters of *Rhodes*, and afterwards so courageously withstood *Ottoman* the first King of the *Turks*.

But notwithstanding the peace, because it did not hinder the roving of Turkish Pyrates, he several times put forth to Sea, and so well acquitted himself upon all occasions that presented, that he obtain'd the commandery of *Sulins*, in the first years of his service.

John de Lustic, who at that time govern'd the Order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and who was the first to whom the publick vogue gave the title of *Grand-master*, soon conceiv'd a high Opinion of Monsieur *D' Aubusson*, as well as *James de Milli*, who was *Grand Prior* of *Auvergne*, and who succeeded *John de Lustic* in the charge of *Grand-master*.

The affairs of *Rhodes* were calm enough, when the death of *Amurath*, or rather the ambition of *Mahomet* his successor, rais'd strange troubles over all Christendom.

Mahomet the second is so often mention'd in the story, that I am to write,

write, that it will not be amiss to describe him before I go any farther. He was one of those extraordinary personages, who are not only endow'd with great Vertues, and great Vices; but one also freight with qualities altogether opposite. Never was there a Prince more wise, or more led away; more valiant, nor more effeminate, more a Master, nor more a Slave to his passions than he. Though he had a Countenance somewhat wild, and something of terrible in his eyes, he could put on a mild and engaging Aire when he pleas'd. His Serraglio follow'd him every where; and he gave himself up to his pleasures in the midst of the toyles of war; but he was melancholy and cruel in the height of his pleasures, killing sometimes with his own hand his Favourites and his Mistresses in the heat of his debauchery; so soon he alter'd from love to choler and fury. He also committed these cruelties sometimes in cold blood, more out of Policy than transportation. And it is reported of him, that when he re-
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proach'd the Souldiers for effeminate, and slackness in discipline; certain among them taking the boldness to hit him in the teeth with a young Grecian whom he passionately lov'd, he caus'd her to be brought forth, and to be by them beheld at leisure: whereupon when the Souldiers dazl'd with her beauty, agreed that the Emperors passion was not without good reason; *Mahomet* immediately striking off her head with his Scimitar, laid her head at their feet, to let them understand, that Pleasure was not his Master, and that whatever proneness he had to it, he lov'd nothing beyond his duty.

He was brought up by his Mother in the principles of Christianity, & instructed by *Maximus*, Patriarch of the *Greeks*. However, he only made profession of the Mahometan Religion, or rather he had no Religion at all; laughing at his Prophet, and regarding less the Altaron then the Gospel. He freely confess'd that the Christian Law was an admirable Law: but he so much abhorr'd the Christians, that when he met

met with one, he was alwaies wont to wash his hands and mouth, as if the very sight of a Christian had defil'd him.

He thought all things lawful to obtain his ends: and never kept his word, but when it stood with the conveniencie of his affairs. For he pretended that he ow'd no respect to any one, and treated all men like slaves, not considering that he ow'd to himself the fulfilling of the word which he had giv'n to others, and that the laws of fidelity oblige the Masters as well as the Slaves. Yet was he just to his Subjects, and administer'd justice equally to all his people. He thought much, spoke little, neglected nothing, inform'd himself of all things, and disguis'd himself often to see what pass'd in his Serraglio, and in his Army. He understood several Languages, and several Sciences, amongst the rest Astrology, which he study'd very much. He was a lover of learned men, and excellent Artists of any Nation whatever. Magnificent toward

ward the one and the other. Observing no moderation in reward, no more then he did in punishment. Indefatigable he was in war, a contemner of danger, resolute in bad fortune, insolent or moderate in prosperity, as occasion requir'd: cunning to conceal his enterprises, and discover those of his enemies: Artificial in his management, making use of the vilest means to compass his ends: but ambitious to excess: accounting all his conquests as nothing, and still every day proposing new to himself. So predominant was the love of honour in him, and *Alexander* the great so much his model, that he read his life continually, which he caused on purpose to be translated into Arabic, and he did him the honour to imitate him even in his vices.

When *Mahomet* had taken possession of the *Ottoman* Empire, after the death of *Amurath* his Father, he was presently for an universal Monarchy, and first he undertook to subdue the Empire of the *Greeks*. He began his military expeditions with the
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seige of the Capital, notwithstanding the peace which he had made with *Constantine Paleologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*; or rather it was under the protection of a peace solemnly sworn, that the *Barbarian* turn'd his armes upon that side.

In regard *Constantine* had made no provision against an attempt which he did not mistrust, and for that the succour which he receiv'd from the King of *Arragon*, the Pope, and the Republick of *Venice* came too late, he could not sustain the force of so great an Army; so that the City was carri'd by assault by the Infidels, notwithstanding the resistance of the Christians. Never was seen a more tragical spectacle, than that which was then beheld. They made a most horrible slaughter every where; nothing escap'd the fury of the Souldiers. Women & Virgins of qualitie were publickly defil'd; and afterwards inhumanly massacred. The Images & reliques of the Saints were cut to pieces. The Resemblances of Christ thrown to the dogs; and the
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great Crucifix dragg'd about the streets, with most dreadful acclamations and imprecations. *Constantine* rather chose to dye in the defence of his Crown and faith, then to fall alive into the hands of the Barbarians. His head was carried upon a Lance round about the City; and that there might not any footstep remain of the family of the *Paleologi*, *Mahomet* caus'd the Princes and Princesses of the Blood-Royal to be slain in the midst of a magnificent Banquet; whereat he treated the Principal Officers of his Army.

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The taking of *Constantinople* cast a terror upon all the *East*, and oblig'd the Despot of *Servia*, the King of *Cyprus*, and the Emperour of *Trebizond*, to sue for the friendship of the Turk. Which they could not obtain, but upon paying a certain Tribute, as the Islands of *Scio*, and *Meteline* did. The Knights of *Rhodes* would not stoop to any such dishonourable condition; and though *Mahomet's* Ambassador threatn'd the Knights with all that could be expected from a Potent

a Potent and Victorious Prince, if they refus'd to pay him 2000. Ducats a year, the Grand-Master answer'd with a generous Christianity, That the Order of *Rhodes* acknowledg'd none but the Apostolick See, which knew not what it was to pay Tribute : and that for his part he was resolv'd rather to dye a thousand deaths, then to suffer in his time, that the Government which he had receiv'd free, should become tributary ; and that if *Mahomet* made war against the faith of Treaties, he hop'd that God, who is the revenger of injuries and impieties, would defend his own Worship against all the *Ottoman* Power.

In regard the Knights were fearful least so fierce an Answer might provoke *Mahomet*, they made it their business to provide against so formidable an enemy. But because the Society was then poor, and not able to maintain a long war of it self, they thought it their best way to engage the Christian Princes to their side, especially the King of *France*, upon
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whom they lookt upon as the best friend of their Order. The Commander *D'Aubusson* was chosen for this Embassage out of all the Commanders of the French Nation. Not only because he had a particular knowledge and dexterity in managing affairs, but because he was known to the Court of *France*.

He departed from *Rhodes* at the time that *James de Milli* succeeded *John de Lustic*, Grand-Master of the Order, and arriv'd in *France*, a little after the Cardinal *d'Avignon*, whom the Pope had sent thither, to encite the French against the *Turk*. The Embassador of *Rhodes* was entertain'd after an extraordinary manner, either because the Court had a great esteem for him, or because they had a design to keep him in delay. He saw through the gentleness and caresses which he receiv'd, which way the Court stood affected toward the Holy-war. The King would not undertake it by any means, whether he thought his Kingdom too much exhausted to defray the expence of a war

war that might prove of a long continuance ; or whether he minded nothing but his Repose , after his past toiles , or that the Charms of the fair *Agnes* had cool'd his zeal which he formerly had for the interest of the Church ; or whether it were that he would not submit to the inclinations of his Son,⁹ who was retir'd male-content, to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, the most zealous of all the Christian Princes, and one that had declar'd himself so much an enemy of the Turk, that he solemnly swore to make war upon them.

The Cardinal Legate who was a Frenchman, and very understanding in affairs, appli'd himself wholly to effect this Negotiation. After many Conferences in vain with the publick Ministers, he treated at last in particular with the King, not being able to obtain any thing. *Calistus* being advertis'd of the Kings disposition, writ to him very sharp Letters ; threatening him at length with the Thunderbolts of *Rome*, and the Malediction of Heaven, if he refus'd

The History of
 the holy League. Those Letters wrought no effect, if they did not make it worse. The King was incens'd at the Popes threats, and not perswaded by his reasons. In such a ticklish conjuncture, there appear'd no probability of hopes for the Commander *D' Aubusson*. However he ceas'd not to act: and in regard that besides the character of an Ambassador he had other good qualities, which made him esteem'd by the King and his Ministers, he was heard more favourably than the Legate.

He represented at first that Christendom was never in more eminent danger, and that there was nothing which we had not to fear, if the Progress of the Infidels were not quickly stopp'd; that *Mahomet* since the taking of *Constantinople* aim'd at nothing but *Rome*; that he was fall'n into *Hungaria*, to enter into *Germany*, with a purpose to make his way that way into *Italy*. That it was one of his maxims, that as there is but one God in Heaven, so there could not be but one Monarch upon Earth: That
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he had been constrain'd to raise his siege before *Belgrade*, because he had not taken the right course, and for that he had been wounded himself, but that his misfortune had no way disincourag'd him; that he was one of those great men that make the best advantage of their errors and misfortunes; or rather that he was like the fiercer sort of Beasts, who when they have receiv'd a wound and feel their blood begin to flow, are never more furious till then. That since his ill success in *Hungary*, he had drawn to his side the Soldan of *Egypt*, the *Caraman* and the *Tartar*, and that he would return with fresh forces to the siege of the *Belgrade*; and that his Generals who had tak'n almost all the Isles in the *Archipelago*, would soon powre their fury upon *Rhodes*. In short that those two Ramparts of Christendom being forc'd, not any of the Dominions of the Christian Princes could be safe, either by Sea or Land.

Aubusson, afterwards represented to the King, that being the eldest Son

the Church, he could not forsake their interest without dishonour to himself. That as for the transportment of the Pope, it was but a transportment of zeal, and that his good intentions deserv'd the pardon of a few sharp expressions. He added at length, that because there were in *Rhodes* more Knights of the French, then of any other Nations in the world the Monarch of *France* could not in justice dispence with succouring the Island, at a time when it lay only in his power to do it. That *Alphonfus* King of *Aragon*, so wise and so brave before he came into *Italy*, was not only effeminated by the delights of *Naples*, but embroyl'd with Pope *Calixtus*; who though a native of *Aragon*, had refus'd to give him the investiture of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and to assure the succession to *Ferdinand* his natural son. That *Henry* King of *Castile*, as poor spirited, and more vicious then his Father, had business at home and abroad; and that his Rebcllious subjects found him as much work, as the Moors of *Granada* his

his Neighbours and Enemies. That *Henry* of *England* was not Master at home, and that the Duke of *York* who had usurp'd the Government, minded nothing but to sustain himself against his Rivals. That the Emperor *Frederick* liv'd an idle life, minding neither his own honor, nor the safety of Christendom. That besides, the war grew hot between the Empire and *Hungary*, and that *Ladislaus* at the same time was to make head against the Emperor and the Turk. That civil dissensions turmoyl'd all *Italy*, and that the Kingdoms of *Sweedland* & *Danemark* were full of troubles, *Christiern* had been set up in the place of *Charles*, whose irregularities and crimes had render'd him unworthy of the Crown. That *Alphonso* King of *Portugal*, quiet enough at home, wanted not a good will, but that all he could do was but very little, if a Prince more potent then himself did not assist him. That thus *France* being the only Kingdom in *Europe* that enjoy'd a true peace; it was only from *France*.

that they could expect relief sufficient to ruine the designs of the Port, and for that reason perhaps it was that Heaven had freed it from the power of the *English*.

All these reasons propounded after a smart and insinuating manner, made a deep impression upon *Charles's* thoughts. That Prince who was so averse before to the Holy-war, began to desire it, and awaking from the profound sleep wherein his pleasures had lull'd him, he only follow'd the motions of his Piety and Courage. He gave liberty to Cardinal *D'Avignon* to levy a tenth upon the Clergy, to defray the expence of the war; he entered into a League against *Mahomet* with *Hungarie*, and that there might be no question of his faithful inclinations, he confirm'd the League by the marriage of *Magdalene* of *France* his Daughter with King *Ladislaus*. As for the Knights, he promis'd them all assistance, and immediately caus'd sixtie thousand Crowns in Gold to be paid to the Ambassador of *Rhodes*.

Aubusson

Aubusson lay'd out that money for provisions of war, according to the orders he receiv'd, and freighted away Ships laden with Canon, Armes, Powder and Lead. Then he departed himself, after he had collected most of the money, which was due to the Order in several parts of *Europe*.

The success of the Embassie, and the Letter which he presented to the Grand-Master from the King of *France*, made him to be acceptably receiv'd by the Knights and all the people. The Letter was very generous and very obliging. For the King after he had only spok'n a word or two touching the gratifying of their desires, and excus'd himself for not having done more at the present juncture, frankly engag'd himself to give them farther assistance, and assur'd them of his friendship, in very civil and affectionate language, which Kings were not wont to make use of.

But whatever obligation the Order had to *Charles* the seventh, the Spanish

nish Knights could not forbear to deal very rudely with the French Knights at a general Chapter, held a little after the return of the Ambassador, and which was no less famous for the attempts of Hostile Nations or enemies of *France*, then for the number of famous Commanders that were present.

So soon as the Chapter was open'd, the Knight *de Linian*, Procurator of the Spanish tongue, stood up, and said aloud, that they ought not to proceed any farther, without decreeing one Article which he ought to propose, and which was very important, the publick tranquillity. To which purpose, he requir'd, that all the dignities of the Order should be equal, and that there should be no distinction of Languages, nor of precedency, nor in any other marks of Honour. He was seconded in his proposal, by the Knight *de Rivalta*, Procurator of the Italian tongue, and the Procurators all *England* and *Germany*. But the French, who had alwayes march'd before other Nations, oppos'd.

pos'd with all their might the Proposal of *Linian*, and above all the Commander *D'Aubuffon*, who held a considerable degree in the Assembly, by vertue of his title of Constable of *Rhodes*, and Procurator of the Grand-Master.

The zeal which he had for the Honour of his Country, made him speak louder and more earnest then the rest. To shew how unjust the Proposition of the Spaniards was, he declar'd in few words, that the French being the first Founders of the *Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, deserv'd such honour as should distinguish them from other Languages that were associated with them, and which they had adopted: That those particular honours being the recompence of their vertue, it would be injustice to deprive them of them. That their Predecessors had peaceably enjoy'd them, without being ever molested or oppos'd: That antiquity of Possession was a good Title for precedencie: And that in a well regulated Constitution all Innovations were of dangerous consequence:

quence : After all, that it was not a time then to dispute of such matters, and that they would incur the malediction of the Church, according to the Popes Breif touching the celebration of the Chapter, if they discours'd of any other matters, then what concern'd the general good of Christendom.

The *Spaniards* and their accomplices often interrupted *Aubusson*, and endeavour'd to carry by force, what they could not obtain by justice. But finding at length that the *French* party was the strongest, and that they were not all hearkn'd to, they 'slung out of the Assembly, and afterwards departed the Town, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Grand-Master : so that this Affair, which, as the *Spaniards* pretended so much imported the publick tranquility, was but a trick to divide and break up the Assembly.

But the Commander *D' Aubusson* had another occasion to stand up for the honour of *France* while he defended his own. The news being brought

brought to the Grand-Master that *Mahomet* was equipping out a great Fleet, and that the Turks might attack the Island of *Rhodes*, the Knight *Villemarin* a Spaniard, and a person of merit, but ambitious, and naturally turbulent, propos'd in Council with much heat, that he might immediately give order for all things necessary for the defence of the City, and made a large recital of what was needful, with all the marks of a sedulous care. *Aubusson* who was Castellaine of the City, and who besides that, exercis'd the Command of Captain General in the absence of the Marshal of the Order, fearing least *Villemarin*, whose haughty and daring humour he knew, should usurp the charge of Captain General, answer'd him sternly, that there was no want of power; that he might let himself at rest for that; and that he had nothing to do to intrude himself upon those duties that did not belong to him: That it was the Captain General who was to take care for the security of the City: That that employ-

Employment anciently belong'd to the *Auvergnon* Tongue, and that the *Spanish* Language bad nothing to do with it.

Villemarin made a semblance of submitting to his reasons, and gave no reply at that time, either to conceal his design, or to give himself time to consider what he had to do. But the next day, having consulted the Knights of his own Nation, which were return'd to *Rhodes*, whose behaviour the Grand-Master had also pardon'd, he appear'd at the head of them in Council, and with an affected Air of modesty, said, that the *Spanish* Language did not pretend to the charge of Captain General; but that he, and all the rest of the Nation desir'd that they might have the opportunity to perform their duties to the utmost of their power, as well as the *French*. *Aubusson*, who saw that this manner of proceeding, was only a meer fetch, and that the *Spaniards*, under pretence of demanding the exercise of their duty, had a design upon the Command it self, repli'd

pli'd with more sternness and vigour then before, that the charge of Captain General was annexed to the dignity of Marshal of the Order; that only belong'd to the *Auvergnian* Language, of whom the Marshal was the chief, to do the duties of it; and that *Spain* had nothing to do to meddle with *France* as to that particular. The Council adjudg'd that *Villemarin's* wariness was without any ground; and the Affair was decreed in favour of the *French*, to the disgrace of the *Spaniards*, who in vain protested against all that was done, in regard that their Protests could not be Register'd.

Notwithstanding the advantage which *France* had in these Contests, that hinder'd not, but that *Peter Raymund Zacoſta*, a *Castillian*, was chosen Grand-Master, in the room of *James de Milli*, who dy'd at that time; the *Spaniards* were also divided into two Languages, the one *Arragonian*, the other *Castillian*; in favour of the latter of which, there was a new Dignity created under the Title

Title of Chancellor of the Order. Yet neither the credit which the *Spaniards* had with the new Grand-Master, nor the animosities which they had conceiv'd against the *French* could hinder, but that the Commander *Aubusson* had alwaies his share in the management of Affairs, and was highly honour'd by the Chapter General which was held at *Rome*.

To understand this part of the History, it is convenient to relate the reason which oblig'd the Grand-Master to pass into *Italy*, with the principal Knights, at a time when it was thought that they ought not to have been absent.

The Negotiation of the Ambassador which *Mahomet* sent to *Rome*, to treat of peace, or rather to lull the Knights asleep while his Arms were employ'd in other places, having not taken effect, the Grand-Master thought it convenient to lay up a bank for the War, and began to levy the Tax which had been impos'd upon all the Estates of the Order.

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The most part of the absent Commanders, who lead lives irregular enough, and for whom great Revenues were not large enough to maintain their luxury, refus'd to pay that which was their due. However, to excuse themselves in some measure, they cry'd out that the Tax was too high, that *Zacosta* sought only to ruine them, and enrich himself; and that his Government grew every day more and more tyrannical. They also did him ill offices to the Princes which they found enclin'd to hear them. The *Italians* and *French* did all they could to animate against him the Duke of *Venice* and the King of *Naples*; but the *Spaniards* render'd him altogether odious to the King of *Aragon*, already provok'd for that the Council of *Rhodes* had tak'n from an *Arragonois* the Commandery, of *Emposta*, to put *Zacosta* in his room. That Prince, who was one of the Greatest of his time, and who wanted not for credit at *Rome*, inform'd the Pope of all, and advis'd him to send for the Grand Master, and to

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examine how he had carry'd himself. The Pope believ'd the King of *Arragon*, but to save in some measure the honour of the party accus'd, he order'd the General Chapter, which should have been held at *Rhodes*, to be held at *Rome*, where the affairs of the Order might be better consulted than in any other place. *Zacosta*, who was ignorant of the evil designs of his enemies, blindly obeys the Orders of the Pope, and his innocency seem'd to afford him strength to undergo the toil of a Voyage in the extremity of old age.

In this famous Assembly it was, wherein *Paul* the second presidid in Person, that the Commander *D' Aubusson* was highly preferr'd. For besides that at the opening of the Chapter, he was chosen for one of the Procurators of the Treasury, he was one of the sixteen Knights that were afterwards elected, and who according to the Statutes of the Order, had a joint power to look after the most important affairs.

But his principal business was to
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justifie the innocence of the Grand Master *Zacosta*; to which purpose he ply'd Cardinal *Ursini* and the Arch-Bishop of *Milan*, who were brought into the Chapter by the Popes order, being persons in whom the Pope had a great confidence. After he had well inform'd them of the loose life of the Knights who refus'd to pay the Tax, he easily made them understand, that the Complaints which they made against the Grand Master had no other foundation then the dissoluteness of his Enemies. But to remove out of the Popes thoughts all apprehensions of any tyrannical Government exercis'd by the Grand Master, he engag'd several of the most sober and prudent Knights to give testimony to the Pope of the conduct and management of *Zacosta*.

The Pope was amaz'd that he so easily believ'd the accusers of *Zacosta*; and to make him some kind of publick satisfaction, he caress'd him, and shew'd him more then ordinary favours before all the world. But as his Holiness had been inform'd by

Cardinal *Ursini* and the Arch-Bishop of *Milan* of the debauchery of the disobedient Knights, he consulted with the Grand Master how to reduce them to their duty. He also made a speech in Latin to the Knights that were assembled upon the obligation that lay upon them all together, to lead a life not only vertuous and regular, but holy and irreproachable. The zeal of the Pope rais'd up that of the Chapter. They seriously fell to consider what way to take to remedy the disorders that were crept into the Order, and made Laws for the Reformation of Manners, which after they had been examin'd by the sixteen Knights, and some of the Cardinals, were approv'd and confirm'd by the Pope himself.

Aubusson was extreemly rejoic'd that he had not labour'd in vain; but he had not the satisfaction to see the Grand Master himself put the Laws in execution; *Zacosta* dy'd as soon as the Assembly was broke up. The Pope was so much the more aggriev'd at it, because he lookt upon himself

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to be in some sort the cause of his death; for it was the general report that this journey to *Rome* had shorten'd the days of that venerable old man. He was buried with a magnificence extraordinary in the Church of St. *Peter*, before the Chappel of St. *Gregory*. The Marble that was laid over him, sufficiently testifies him to have been illustrious in piety, in charity, and in wisdom; and his Epitaph might have serv'd him for an Apology, had he had any need of it after his death.

Baptista Ursini, Prior of *Rome*, was elected Grand Master, before the Knights were separated. He departed for *Rhodes* presently after his election, upon information that his presence was absolutely necessary there. When he came there he found the Treasury wasted, the Fortifications decay'd, good part of the Ammunition spent, and all the Inhabitants of the Island alarm'd at *Mahomets* preparations. The *Barbarian* pult up with his former Conquests, advanc'd every day like a furious Torrent that finds no

resistance, or which becomes more impetuous and rapid by the resistance which it meets with. The death of the generous *Scanderbeg* made him more insolent then ever ; insomuch, that when he heard the news, he said, that he would now be soon Master of Christendom, since she had lost her Sword and Buckler.

The first step which the Grand Master made to remedy these disorders, was to recall all the Knights which the journey to *Rome* had scatter'd, or which the pleasures of *Italy*, or the affairs of the Order hinder'd from returning.

The Commander *Aubuffon*, who was recall'd by name, came to *Rhodes* at the same time that two Gallies were preparing to succour the Island of *Negropont*, into which *Mahomet* was enter'd by land with an Army of two hundred thousand men, by the help of wooden Bridges built upon great Barks in the Streight of Saint *Murk*, while *Basha Mahomet*, his Favourite, assail'd it by Sea with a Navy of two hundred Sail,

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The impatience which *Aubusson* had to fight the Infidels, made him eager for employment upon this occasion. The Grand Master had already nam'd the Knight *Cardona* to command the Gallies; so that all he could do for *Aubusson*, was to give him the Command of a Troop of stout men, that were order'd to be the Companions of *Cardona's* Fortune. When the Gallies were ready, they set sail, and join'd with the *Venetian* Fleet, which the Republick sent to the relief of *Negropont*. The Fleet appear'd in view of the Isle when the Barbarians were ready for the assault; and *Mahomet*, who saw them coming, was not a little troubled. But all that preparation came to nothing, and the Knights were forc'd to lye still, and behold the City taken before their faces, through the cowardice, or imprudence of the *Venetians*, who having the Wind and Tide favourable, instead of making use of the opportunity, stopt short, and fell to consultation, when it was time to act.

The Grand Signior was so enrag'd

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at the succour which the Order had given to the *Venetians*, and the incursions which they had made into divers parts of *Turky*, during his being busied in *Negropont*, that without any farther deliberation he declar'd War against them. A Herauld publish'd the Declaration by sound of Trumpet ; and *Mahomet's* rage went so far, that he vow'd in a furious passion that he would kill the Grand Master with his own hands, and cut to pieces all the Knights that fell into his power.

After a War so solemnly and outrageously declar'd, there was nothing thought upon in *Rhodes* but to make preparations to withstand the fury of *Mahomet*. They began with a general Assembly so soon as the Gallies were return'd ; and *Aubusson* was in this Chapter one of the sixteen Knights who govern'd every thing, as he had been in that of *Rome*. He was also one of the Administrators of the Treasury, which were elected extraordinarily ; for as there was little order in the Treasury, and for that the Chapter of *Rome* had very much

much exhausted it, they thought it convenient to trust the management thereof to six Knights of known integrity and ability, giving them an absolute and independent power as to what concern'd the publick stock, without obliging them to give any account to the Grand Master, or the Council.

But besides those advantages which *Aubusson* had common with the rest of the Knights, he was also honour'd in particular with a new dignity. The *Auvergnian* language represented to the Council, that in regard they had a great number of Knights that faithfully serv'd the Order, and few dignities that depended upon the Council, they demanded for a recompence of their service, that they might have bestow'd upon them some particular jurisdiction, as other languages had, that were less ancient and less numerous. The request seem'd but reasonable, so that the Chapter in favour of them made a new Capital Jurisdiction; they gave them authority to assign a Commandery for the revenue.

venue of the Charge, and declar'd at the same time, that the Bailly whom they should elect, should enjoy his Commandery in the same manner as other Bailies; that is to say, that he should enjoy all the prerogatives and pre eminencies that are appropriated to Capital Jurisdictions and Commanderies. They annex'd the Commandery of *Luteil* to the new Bailiwick, and after that *Aubusson* was elected Bailly, as he that was adjudg'd fittest for the dignity.

The first time that *Aubusson* took his place in Council as Bailly, he spoke for *Charlotte de Lusignan* Queen of *Cyprus*. For that unfortunate Princess, whom the Rebellion of her Subjects had reduc'd almost to utmost extremity, could find no Sanctuary but *Rhodes*, after the ruine of her affairs. There she stay'd for some time, and was entertain'd at the expences of the Order.

But in regard her ill fortune had not broken her courage, she resolv'd upon a journey to *Rome*, to desire aid of the Pope against her rebellious Sub-

Subjects, or at least to oblige him to thunder out against them the Anathema's of the Church. And that which made her absolutely determine upon that course, was the conveniency of the *French Gallies* then in the Port of *Rhodes*, which were suddenly to set sail for *Naples*. But in regard she was very poor, and had not wherewithall to defray the expences of her journey, she desir'd those Knights who seem'd to have most compassion and kindness for her, to speak to the Grand Master to supply her with what was necessary to carry her into *Italy*.

The Baily *Aubusson* was very much troubled for the misfortunes of the Queen, and espous'd her interest. He wish'd with all his heart, that the condition of the affairs of *Rhodes* would have permitted the Knights to have restor'd her to her Throne, nor were there any dangers to which he would not have expos'd himself to serve her. But because there was no likelihood of undertaking any thing abroad, while the Order was in so much

much danger at home ; he only represented, that since the Knights of *St. John* were not in a condition to restore a Queen dispoil'd of her Kingdom, that had put her self under their protection, that they would at least relieve a Queen in necessity, who did as it were crave their Alms. That it was true, that the Treasury was not over rich, and that Mony was a precious thing in case of a Siege, but that there were certain occasions, wherein decency, generosity, charity and justice were to prevail above ordinary prudence ; and that after all was done, that the Springs of Providence were inexhaustible, and that Heaven was never wont to fail them that inconveniently themselves to relieve the miserable. He spoke with so much earnestness, and with such a lively and encouraging Air, that the Council order'd, notwithstanding the opposition of the Knights, either wanting generosity, or over-prudent, that the Queen of *Cyprus* should be plentifully furnish'd with all things necessary for her Voyage.

The

The Bailly D' *Aubusson* was order'd himself, as one of the Managers of the Treasury, to give her what Money he should think fit; and he so well acquitted himself, that the Queen had no occasion to complain.

But to return to the preparations for War, though the *Venetian* found the *Turk* employment sufficient in *Dalmatia*; and that the Alliance which the *Venetians* had made with *Ussumcassan* King of *Persia*, after the taking of *Negropont*, had somewhat discompos'd the designs of *Mahomet*, however the Knights were careful to stand upon their Guard; and because the Walls were either ruin'd or weak in some places, they labour'd continually in the repair of them, giving to Bailly *Aubusson* the charge of looking after the Fortifications of the City. He had apply'd himself in his youth to that Military Science, wherein betimes he became so expert that the most able Engineers could teach him nothing. He was not content only to repair the breaches, but he added something new to the ancient Works.

Works. He caus'd the Moats to be made wider and broader ; but because it was nois'd about, that *Mahomet* was preparing his Gallies against the Knights of *St. John*, and that the *Turkish* Army which had rais'd their Siege from before *Scutari*, might well come to *Rhodes*, the Council thought it necessary for fear of being surpriz'd, to plant their Cannon round the Walls of the City ; which was also entrusted to *Aubusson's* care, who brought out all the great Guns and planted them upon the Walls and Ramparts, wherever occasion requir'd.

He was then Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, having succeeded a little before to the Chevalier *Cottet*, who dy'd about that time ; and surrender'd his Bailiwick to the Knight *de Rillac*.

But while they were thus preparing to receive the *Ottoman* Army, the Grand Master *Baptista Ursini* dy'd also ; the loss of whom might have ruin'd *Rhodes*, had it not been repair'd with advantage. For in short, it was *Aubusson* himself whom the Knights

Knights assembl'd chose for Grand Master, *Anno 1476*. Never was Election more regular, nor with less disturbance then that. It was made according to all the forms which the Statute prescribes; and the sixteen Electors whom the Assembly chose out of the whole number of Languages, to elect whom they should think most capable of the supreme power, gave their suffrages with one consent for *Peter D'Aubusson* Grand Prior of *Auvergne*.

1476

At the name of *Aubusson*, the whole Assembly with redoubl'd shours and acclamations testify'd their unparallel'd joy. He only was sorry when he heard himself nam'd, and at first he refus'd a Command of which he did not think himself worthy. But I know not by what inward motive, which afterward prevail'd, he was forc'd to accept it, almost against his own will. Yet could he not refrain from tears, when according to the custom, he was carry'd in his Seat to the Great Altar upon the Shoulders of the principal Commanders.

ders. There it was that confessing his weakness to sustain so great a burthen, he receiv'd the submissions of the Knights, after he had solemnly sworn upon the Evangelists to observe the Statutes of the Order.

The news of this Election was no sooner spread over the Island, but the people made Bonfires, and testify'd all the signs of publick joy. This caus'd every body to hope for a happy Government; neither was *Mahomet* so much fear'd, when they understood that the Grand Prior of *Auvergne* had the Authority in his hands.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF

Peter D'Aubuffon,

Grand Master of

R H O D E S.

Book Second.

SO soon as the Grand Master was acknowledged in *Rhodes*, his first care was to render to Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth that Obedience which is due from the Chief of an Order wholly devoted to the Sacred See.

To that purpose he held a Council the next day after his Election, and nominated the Prior of *Lombardy*,

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The History of
together with the Prior of *Rome*, for
that Embassy.

Then he apply'd all his thoughts
to the Government of a 'Dominion of
which he had taken possession. And
not to loose time, he began at the
very first to act as 'Grand Master.

Though the *Ottoman Army* were
as yet far enough from *Rhodes*, ne-
vertheless the Island was not a little
infested by the incursions of the *Bar-*
barians. The *Pyrats*, who landed
day and night in several parts, pillag-
ed the Cities, burnt the Houses,
massacred and carried away many of
the Christians.

The Grand Master thought it con-
venient to put a stop to these disor-
ders that so sensibly afflicted him, and
for that purpose to build upon the
Coast at such & such distances, several
Forts and Towers to hinder the land-
ing of the *Pyrats*. But because this
design requir'd a great sum of Mo-
ney, and that these *Pyracies* had ve-
ry much exhausted the Grand Masters
Revenue, he ordain'd for the raising
those works, that all those Knights
who

who obtain'd. Commanderies by favour only, should pay the value of the first years Revenue to the Order, so soon as they receiv'd their Commissions, without which payment the Donation should be void.

The Grand Master, also took in hand again, and went on with all those works which were discontinued by the death of the Grand Master. More especially he forwarded the new Wall of the Arsenal, and took upon himself the charge of looking after it. But in regard it was of high importance to look after the security of the Port, he order'd the Grand Prior of *St. Gilles* to provide a Chain to shut it up. He also at the same time gave order to the Chevalier *Raymond*, who commanded in the Castle of *St. Peter*, to widen the Mote so far for the Sea to fill it, that the *Brigantines* of the Castle might ride there, secure from Enemies and Tempests.

The Castle *St. Peter*, which we shall have often an occasion to mention, was a strong place, scituated in *Canal*,

between two Arms of the Sea, which form'd a Peninsula, built upon the ruins of the ancient City *Halicarnassus*, near the place where was formerly the Sepulcher of *Mausolus*, so famous for the love and grief of *Artemisia*. The Order of St. John is beholding for that Fortress to the prudence and valour of one of the French Grand Masters. For *Philibert* of *Nai-lac*, Grand Master of *Rhodes*, desirous to make his best advantage of the consternation of the Infidels, after the Battel wherein *Tamerlain* had taken *Bajazet* Prisoner, fitted out the Gallies of the Order, and sailed directly for *Caria* with the choicest Knights of the Order. He took a Castle there from the *Turks*, the situation whereof seem'd to him to be of so much advantage, that he built in the same place another almost impregnable, which he call'd the Castle of St. *Peter*. This place it was which in the midst of the *Turks* Dominions serv'd as a Sanctuary for the poor Christian Slaves that can get away from their Masters. And here it was,

if

if we may believe the Writers of that age, that certain Dogs, of a particular breed, who by a strange instinct of nature, watch'd all the night long; and would fly upon the *Turks*, and fawn upon the Christians, as if they had known the one from the other.

Among all the Knights which the Grand Master employ'd according to the variety of occurrences, and which were always nearest his person, there was not one in whom he put more confidence than in *Charles de Montholon*. He was a person of a very good judgment, and one that bore the character of being fierce in fight, temperate in counsel, and one that had a genius capable of every thing. This Knight acquitted himself of several Trusts that were put upon him for the defence of the City; and he it was that had the charge of fortifying *St. Nicholas Fort*.

While the Grand Master issued out his orders, and labour'd himself to have all things in readiness to sustain a Siege. *Antonio Loredano*, General of the *Venetian* Fleet in the Island of

Cyprus, understanding that *Riccio de Marina*, a *Cipriot* by birth, and a person born for intrigue, and one of the most zealous Servitors of *Charlotte de Lusignan*, negotiated at *Rhodes* to the prejudice of *Katharine Carnara*, he sent an Ambassador to complain in the name of the Duke of *Venice*, for that the Knights did entertain those that were Rebels to the Republick.

It is impossible to understand the grounds of that Embassy, nor the answer of the Grand Master, without being inform'd beforehand of the Claims of those two Princesses to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and wherefore the Republick took *Katharine's* part, and oppos'd *Charlota*.

John de Lusignan King of *Cyprus*, one of the weakest and most effeminate Princes that ever sway'd a Scepter, had only one natural Son, who was nam'd *James de Lusignan*, when he espous'd his Second Wife *Helena*, of the House of the *Paleologi*, and Daughter of the Despote of *Moria*. By this second Wife he had a Daughter

ten nam'd *Charlotte*, who was married to *John* of *Portugal*, Duke of *Coimbrã*. This Prince, who had both wit and courage, being at the Court of *Cyprus*, easily wound himself into the management of affairs, and depriv'd the Queen of all that authority which the weakness of the King had permitted her to use.

The Queens Nurse, who govern'd all things before the marriage of the Princess *Charlota*; and was afterwards in little esteem, reveng'd the Queen's and her own disgrace, by poysoning the Duke of *Coimbrã*. She had a Son, whom she passionately lov'd, and whom during her grandeur, she had made a kind of absolute Minister of State. The death of the Prince restor'd to the Mother and the Son the authority which they had lost. But as persons of mean Birth usually forget themselves, when rais'd above themselves, the insolence of the one and the other was so excessive, that they us'd the Dutchess most contemptuously.

Charlota deeply resented both the
F 4 death

death of her Husband, and the scorns put upon her when she was a Widow. She complain'd to her Brother *James de Lusignan*, and her Complaints were not in vain ; for this natural Son of the King, equally cruel and ambitious, kill'd with his own hand the Nurses Son, not so much to satisfy his Sister, as to govern in his room, and to open to himself by that means a way to the Throne. The Queen, who tenderly lov'd her Nurse, could not be brought to pardon *James* whom she mortally hated besides ; so that to avoid the anger of a Woman, a Queen, and a Mother-in-Law, he was forc'd to conceal himself in the *Venetian* Consuls House, and at length to quit the Kingdom.

In the mean while the Dutchess of *Conimbria*, who was in the flower of her age, and in the full splendor of her beauty, was remarried with *Lewis* Son to the Duke of *Savoy*. Soon after this marriage the King and the Queen dy'd. The King by his Will declar'd *Charlota* his only Heir. But the natural Son, whom ambition blind-

ed,

ed, had no regard either to the Laws of Nature, or the last words of a dying Prince. He made War upon his Sister and his Brother-in-Law, by the assistance of the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who rather chose to have a *Grecian* Prince his Tributary, then any other. *Marc Cornaro*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, who liv'd at *Nicossa*, and was very rich, did not a little help the *Bastard* to make himself Master of the Isle, and usurp the Crown. The Usurper therefore, to acknowledge his services, and to fix the *Venetians* at the same time to his interests, espoused *Katharine* the Daughter of *Cornaro*, after the Commonwealth had adopted her. But this new Dominion was too unjust to endure long or happy. The Uncles of *Katharine*, who shar'd in the Government, poyson'd the King of *Cyprus*, with a design to raign themselves. And it was in favour of his Widow that *Michael Salamon* came to *Rhodes* on the behalf of General *Loredano*, who was gone to *Cyprus* to restore *Katharine* to the possession of her Kingdom.

The

The *Venetian* Ambassadors deliver'd a Letter to the Grand Master from the Duke of *Venice* full of reproaching and menacing Language. Afterwards he himself declar'd with much haughtiness, that since the Common-wealth had adopted *Katharine Cornaro*, that it was an injury done to the *Venetians*, to favour Rebels that caball'd against a Daughter of *St. Mark*, and their lawful Queen.

So proud and furly an Embassy, no way pleas'd the Grand Master; however he thought it not convenient to provoke the *Venetians* by too severe an answer, at a time when the order had their hands full. Nor could he stoop to qualify them with an answer too much beneath himself. And therefore he answer'd with a Gentility and sowness mix'd both together, that the Knights of *St. John* neither meddl'd with the differences in the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, nor would they suffer any Traitors in *Rhodes*; but that the Island being a free Island, they

they denied admittance to no Christians who desir'd to live among them like Christians.

Salomon, was not satisfy'd with the Grand Masters answer; and *Loredano* less. He thought his own presence would do more then his Ambassador; for which reason he hastens away to *Rhodes*. When his Gallies enter'd the Port, the Master sent four of the Grand Crosses to congratulate his arrival, and to present him with all sorts of fresh Victuals; but being informed of the occasion of his coming, he sent to tell him plainly, that he could make him no other answer, then what he had already given him. That concise Declaration, caus'd the General to understand that his Voyage was lost: so that without considering any farther with himself, or so much as setting foot ashore, he return'd with all the choler that could inspire a fierce and daring person, for having tak'n so much pains so little to the purpose.

The

The haughtiness of the *Venetians* was not the only cause of the ill success of their Embassy. The kindness which the Grand Master had for *Charlota de Lusignan*, had a deep share therein. Though the Knights of St. *John*, had never openly declar'd for *Katherine Cornara*, nor were willing to contest with the *Venetians*, about their affair : certain it is, that in their hearts they were all for *Charlota de Lusignan* ; whether it were that they were satisfy'd in the Justice of her cause ; or that the compassion which they took upon her misfortunes, caus'd them to embrace her interests ; or whether it were, that the most of them were taken with the Charms of her beauty. They had seen her several times at *Rhodes*, she was as yet young enough ; for her misfortunes had not defac'd her beauty, nor depriv'd her of her natural gayity, of humour. She spoke very pleasingly, and readily, according to the natural Genius of the *Greeks* ; she dress'd her self

self after the *French* mode, and her disposition, her air, and manners plainly shewed her to be of Royal Extraction.

The Grand Master had always admir'd in the person of *Charlota*, besides the graces of her body and mind, a prudence that exceeded age, and a constancy above all her sex. But the chiefest motive was, that she had put her self under the protection of the Knights ; and for that she had already receiv'd all the assisting kindnesses that she could in reason expect. Her acknowledgment also oblig'd them to shew her new marks of their esteem and affection. For she publickly declared that she had been more oblig'd to the Knights of *Rhodes*, then to all her nearest Relations : and because the Commonwealth had adopted her Enemy, she was wont pleasantly to say, that if *Katharine Cornara*, were the Daughter of St. Mark of *Venice*, *Charlota de Lusignan* was the Daughter of St. John of *Jerusalem*.

But

But perhaps the great esteem they had for *Lewis of Savoy*, her husband contributed more then any other reason, to make the Grand Master and Knights favourable to her interests. They were all perswaded that the order of *St. John* were beholding for their preservation to the house of *Savoy*: and it was a common opinion among them, that *Amadeus* the fifth, surnam'd the Great, coming to the relief of *Rhodes*, and having constrain'd *Ottoman* to raise his Seige, took for his impress these four Letters; F. E. R. T. that is, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, his Fortitude kept *Rhodes*. And that in his arms he chang'd the Eagle of *Savoy* into the Cross of the Order, to let all the World know his devotion to the service of the Knights, immortalizing the memory of an action that had been so serviceable to them. Nevertheless the whole Story is but a Fable without foundation or probability. For the devise, *Lewis of Savoy*, *Baron de Vaud*, who dy'd in the year 1301, stamp'd it

it upon his money, ten years before the Siege of *Rhodes*. And in the Cathedral Church of *Agosta*, upon the Sepulcher of *Thomas de Savoy*, the second of that name, there is still to be seen, a Dog lying at his feet, with this word engraven upon his collar, *FERT*, in *Gothick* Letters, without any points, or separation of Letters. As for the Cross, the predecessors of *Amadeus* the fifth, carryed it instead of the Eagle, either as Earls of *Piemont*, the Arms whereof were the Eagle. Or in imitation of *Amadeus* the third, Earl of *Savoy*, who took the Cross upon him in the year 1147, and kept it at his return from *Palestine*, as a testimony of his expedition beyond the Seas. *Amadeus* the great also wore it himself in the year 1304. when he appear'd at the Treaty which he made with *Stephen Coligny*, Lord of *Andelot*. But though the Story of *Amadeus* be false in all the circumstances, it pass'd for Currant at *Rhodes*, as well as in other places. And therefore it is no wonder, if the Grand Master

Master led by the Popular error respected *Amadeus* in *Lewis*, *Charlota's* Husband, beyond either *Katharina Cornara*, or the *Venetians*.

The Proposal which the sub-Basha of *Pizzonne* Governour of *Lycia* made to the Grand Master was heard more favourably then that of the Duke of *Venice*. There were at that time several Knights, and many subjects of the order, Slaves to the *Turks*. These *Barbarians*, in whom sometimes covetousness serves as a Counterpoise to cruelty, had a desire to get Mony, and the *Sub-Basha* sent to *Rhodes*, a Merchant call'd *Cachim Brabim*, to traffick for the delivery of the Slaves. The Grand Master who stood in need of Men, and sought nothing more then the liberty of so many unfortunate Persons, was soon perswaded to treat with the *Turkish* Merchant; and he agreed also according to the *Sub-Basha's* command, that there should be a Truce for a Month between the Order and the *Turks*, that they might treat without interruption.

During

During this Negotiation, there happen'd one thing very remarkable: one of the *Turks* that belong'd to *Cochin* *Brahim*, one day offer'd his service to the Grand Master, to bring him an accompt from *Constantinople* of the designs and readiness of the Ottoman Army; of which they had no certain news for a good while. He promis'd to make all possible hast, and after he had confirm'd his words by most terrible Oaths, he said that he could not resist that inward Motion that compell'd him to serve the Knights, against his Law and his Prince. Though the Grand Master did not much rely upon the faith of a person who had all the looks of a Traitor, yet he thought it not convenient to refuse an offer, which if it fail'd, could do no harm. So without confiding in the *Turk*, or making any semblance to defy him, he gave him a passport for his return; and out of hopes that God would be pleas'd to overthrow the designs of *Mahomet*, by the means of a *Mahometan*, he suffer'd the voluntary spy to go where-

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ever the Spirit which he spake of, conducted him.

But if Heaven on the one side seem favourable to the Order of *St. John*, on the other side, it seem'd no less incens'd against it. For a prodigious Tempest arose all of a sudden, when the Sky seem'd to be very serene. The Rain in an instant made an Inundation over all the Countrey; and the wind threw down several Houses in the City; among the rest, the Archbishops Palace. That which was most deplorable, was, that the violence of the Storm shook the old Wall of the City, and overturn'd a good part of the new. Had the Enemy then come, *Rhodes* had been lost; so far had he been from finding resistance there, that he had only come to view the Image of a City tak'n and sack'd. The publick Consternation made the mischief more lamentable. The People that are presently alarm'd by any thing that appears extraordinary, took such a horrible Tempest, as a certain presage of their ruin: and the greatness of the danger had certainly cast them

them into a general despair, had not the constancy of the Grand Master supported them.

Scarce was the Tempest over, when a Contest which the *Greeks* and *Latins* had, about I cannot tell what point of Doctrine, rais'd a Popular Tumult. Of a single dispute, by degrees they made a real quarrel, which came to blows. And as in quarrels about Religion, every one is apt to call his particular transportment a piece of merit, their Animosity and fury one against another wax'd so hot, that several had been kill'd upon the place, had not the Grand Master made use of all his policy and authority to appease the Tumult. He did not content himself to make both parties lay down their Arms; and to punish the most culpable, to keep the rest within the bounds of their duty; but he resolv'd to pull up the Root of the Sedition; and because the difference was about Religion, he engag'd the Arch-Bishop of *Rhodes*, and the Metropolitan of the *Greeks* to make a Reconciliation.

A pacification being thus made, and the walls of the City being almost repair'd; he made a visitation through the Island, to view himself, and to give order for the Fortification of those places that had need of defence. Having spent a whole month in this Visitation, at his return he found the *Greek Spy*, who inform'd him that the Infidels made very great preparations, that their Fleet was to set sail with the first Wind from the streight of *Gallipoli*, and that it was certainly confirm'd at *Constantinople*, that the great *Turk* would set upon the Knights of *St. John*.

The Grand Master well know that it was one of the maxims of the *Turkish* policy to give out false reports, the better to conceal the true design. That it was their custom to keep an Enemy in suspense for several years, to the end he might exhaust himself with continual and needless preparations; that they came upon their Enemies, when they were weary of expecting them, and thought no more of them. But on the other
side

side he was not ignorant that they did not always observe the same rules, nor the same method in War; but that it was one of their Stratagems to divulge the expedition which they intended, that people should not believe it; or that it was design'd at a distance, and in the mean time to use all diligence imaginable to prevent the resistance and provision of the Enemy. And therefore he thought it the securest way to neglect nothing, and to provide against a siege, as if the intelligence of the Spy had been unquestionable.

After he had taken upon him the charge of Captain General of *Rhodes*, which the Council besought him to accept, he chose out for the defence of the City four Captains of assistance, as they were then call'd, and assign'd to every one their duty and their Post. Besides the Knights which he had already sent to *Lango*, he sent with the Title of Captain of assistance the Knight *Grimaldi* with the same Commission for the Castle of St.

Peter, which the Lieutenant of the Baily of *Germany* was to visit by his order.

In the mean time Intelligence came that the Fleet of the *Barbarians* had set sail out of the Streight to the number of two hundred Gallies, that they were then at the Island of *Scio*, and would soon be at *Rhodes*. This News made the Grand Master give order, that all the Country people should retire into the Forts, and that no person should stir forth, till the Light-Horse appointed for the Guard of the Island, had visited the Coasts, and and all places where the *Turks* could lye in Ambuscado. He order'd also that all Strangers and Vagabonds that were in *Rhodes* should be all enroll'd; and that the Knight *Friqueroly* should command them. That all Vessels that were in port should be stay'd, and that they should be furnish'd with all things necessary for their subsistence.

He sent at the same time a Brigantine to *Scio* to observe the Enemies Fleet, and he understood that the

Infi-

Infidels had in vain attempted the taking of *Stalimene*, where they had put all to fire and Sword; that from thence they say'd to *Scio*, where they had had no better success, but had made the same havock: that from thence they were fall'n into *Lango*. From whence, after they had wasted the whole Countrey, they were gone to *Patmos*, with a design upon the Castle of *St. Peter*, and thence to return to *Rhodes*: but understanding that the grand Master had put those Forts into a good condition, they had steer'd another course, and after they had committed some spoil at *Naxi*, they were return'd at length to *Constantinople*.

This Intelligence somewhat enliven'd the *Rhodians*, however it did nothing slack'n the Industry and Vigilance of the Grand Master. He knew the tricks of the Infidels, and it was one of his Maxims, that it was equally dangerous to be lull'd asleep upon good news; as to be alarm'd at bad. Moreover, he was ad

advertiz'd by his Spies, that the *Turk* was absolutely resolv'd to besiege *Rhodes*; that that expedition was deferr'd till the next year, and that *Ma-homet* would command in Person. How untrue soever this intelligence might be, the Grand Master made his best advantage of it.

As the hope of relief inspires both consolation and courage during a Siege, he order'd the Knight *Cardona*, Bailly of *Marjorca*, who was gone into *Catalonia* and *Arragon*, to put in execution the orders of the last Chapter touching the new Taxes, to levy men, and to buy all sorts of Ammunition and provisions, to send them away with all speed, and to agree with the Masters, so that they should be oblig'd to enter the Port, though the City should be besieg'd.

But because that many of the Knights were abroad, and that the Council was resolv'd to hold a General Chapter to provide for the present necessities, the Grand Master wrote to all the Priors a Circularory Letter, the Original whereof is still preserv'd among the

the Records of *Malta*; wherein he laid before them the great necessity of their assembling altogether, the near approach of the Enemy, his power, the goodness of his Souldiers, and his determin'd resolution to ruin the Order of St. *John*. Then he besought them to lay those things to heart, and consider the dangers that environ'd them, and that it concern'd their safety and their honour, not to prefer the pleasures of this world before the defence of all Christendom.

After he had sent away this Letter, he represented very earnestly to the Council, that for the preservation of the people of *Rhodes*, it was necessary to repair, and regularly to fortify the Castle of *Cara-via*, which fell to ruin. He gave them to understand that the Countrey where this Castle was built, wanted Inhabitants, because the Countrey people were forc'd to retire to the most remote places; and that it would in time be quite dispeopl'd, though that part were the most pleasant and fertile of all. He added that
that

that Countrey was not to be quitted nor left desert, but that the whole Island would suffer very much; and that to avoid those Inconveniences, he thought it very necessary to reinforce that place, so that it might be defended, and serve as a Retrear for the Countrey people like the other Fortresses. The proposal of the Grand Master was approv'd by all the Council, and for the more speedy putting it in execution, it was resolv'd at the same time, that a years revenue of the Office of the Grand Mastery, vacant by the death of the Grand Master, *Baptista Ursini*, which was put into the Treasury, should be employed upon that necessary use.

And in regard the last Chapter had order'd the making new Walls and Bastions about the Castle of *Rhodes*, the Grand Master caus'd some of the Money that came from *France* to be paid out for that purpose.

Lewis the Eleventh, who succeeded his Father *Charles* the Seventh, and who when he was only *Dolphin*, had honour'd the Grand Master with his

his particular favours, forgot him not when he came to the Crown. He was inform'd in general of the condition of the affairs of the *Levant* by the Knight *D' Ambrose*, who was sent to receive the Money in the Priories of *France* and *Champaign*, which was due to the Order. But he was fully inform'd by the Chevalier *Blanchfort*, who came a little while after to present to his Majesty a Leopard, and two Falcons of a rare breed. The affection which he bore to the Grand Master, made him take those courses for the relief of the Knights, which perhaps he would not have done through any motion of zeal. That Prince requested of Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, a Jubilee for all those persons in his Kingdom that would assist the *Rhadians*. He obtain'd that which he demanded, provided that all the Money that should be collected from the charity of the faithful, should be employ'd for no other use then for the defence of *Rhodes*; nor can it be said how much this Jubilee advantag'd the Order.

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The affairs of *Rhodes* being thus settl'd at home, he began to rekindle the feud which was between *Turks* and *Suracens*; and having brok'n with the one, he omitted nothing, with the Pope's permission, to league himself with the other. His management was so successful, that the *Suracens* themselves further'd it as much as in them lay. The *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who fearing the Arms of *Ma-bomet*, sent to *Rhodes* his Favourite, *Dovan Diodar*, to renew the Peace with the Knights. After some conferences between the *Suracens* and the Grand Master, the Ratification was made: and the principal Articles of the Treaty were, that the Order should not set forth any Ships or Vessels to annoy either by Land or Sea the Subjects of the *Soldan*. That they should not permit them to joyn or assist with Souldiers, Pilots, or Guides, any forreign Rovers against the *Soldan's* interest. On the other side, that the *Soldan* should attempt nothing to the prejudice of the Knights: and that if they were assail'd

sail'd by their enemies, the *Soldan* should be oblig'd to assist and defend them. That the Vessels of the Order sailing through the *Soldan's* Dominions for the *Holy Land*, should pay no duties, and that they should be under his protection as friends. Lastly, that when the Christian Slaves at *Cairo* should be freed by their Masters, they should have liberty to return home ; and that for those other Christian Slaves that were not enfranchiz'd, they should be exchange'd for such other *Moors* that were Slaves, giving a *Moor* for a Christian.

In regard the King of *Tunis* seem'd less inclin'd to an Accommodation then the *Soldan*, either out of his barbarous haughtiness that made him despise the friendship of the Christians, or out of just resentment of the injuries which the *Moorish* Merchants pretended to have received from the Knights, the Grand Master did not think it any derogation from his dignity, to make the first proposal for the interest of the Faith. The Knight
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Lamant had therefore order to go to *Tunis*, who understood so well how to govern the *African* Prince, that a Peace was concluded in a few days. There was a Truce agreed upon for one and thirty years between the *Moors* and the Knights. And the Articles little different from those made with the *Soldan*, were sent to *Rhodes* for the Grand Master to sign. But there was this one Article particular, that the Knights, when they pleas'd, might have liberty to buy within the Territories of the King of *Tunis*, thirty thousand Comb of Wheat without paying duty, whatever prohibition to the contrary, or whatever scarcity were in the Countrey.

The Grand Master sent back, with the Treaty sign'd, *Jerom Barbo*, one of the most prudent men in *Rhodes* to reside in *Tunis*, as Consul, for the Knights, or rather to observe the carriage and actions of the *Moors*, under pretence of looking after the trade of the *Rhodians*.

The joy which the people had upon these new Alliances, was soon disturb'd

sturb'd by a general famine in the City and Island, occasion'd by the loss of certain Barques laden with Corn, that were bound for *Rhodes*, of which some were cast away, others taken by the Pyrats. But when their misery was at the height, and that they began to despair of any remedy, by reason that the Sea rag'd in that manner, that no Vessels durst stir out, a Caravel was driven into the Port by stress of weather, laden with Corn. A relief so unexpected seem'd to be a kind of miracle. But because that the Corn which the Caravel brought was not sufficient, the Grand Master gave order to the Captain of the Castle of *St. Peter*, to give Passports to all Merchants that would bring Corn to *Rhodes*. So that many *Turkish* Merchants more regarding their Profit then their Religion, laid hold upon the opportunity to dispose of their Grain, and brought to *Rhodes* so great a quantity of Corn, that all the Granaries were soon fill'd. Thus the Grand Master sav'd the lives of his people by the means of their enemies,

mis, and that famine which threaten'd the desolation of the whole Island, did but only serve to create a greater plenty.

While these things pass'd at *Rhodes*, reports ran at *Constantinople* that *Mahomet* was not seriously bent upon the enterprize against *Rhodes*; whether it were that he was afraid of any ill success, and was loth to hazard any thing after so many happy Expeditions, or whether he had any other Conquests in his designs. But some of his Favourites mortal enemies of the Knights of St. *John*, prest him to lay aside all other designs, and to go on with that of the Siege of *Rhodes*.

There were about him two famous Renegado's, who had rais'd their fortunes by the same ways, and resembled one another very much in wickedness, though their Character were different; the one was called *Demetrius*, a *Negropontine*; though he were one of the most wicked wretches in the world, he had all the Air of a vertuous man; and never
Greek

Greek knew how to conceal such a vast store of perfidiousness under the outward appearances of truth and justice. He had a subtle wit, supple and pliant, every way fit for Negotiation and Intreague. He was also very skilful in War, and resolute upon occasion : after the taking of *Negropont*, he went to live at *Rhodes*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, where having taken the Turbant, he so insinuated himself into the great ones of the Court, and gain'd by degrees the favour of *Mahomet*, by giving him an accompt of the situation and force of the Island. The other Renegado was of *Rhodes* also, and was called *Meligale* : This was a man without conscience or honour, stout and bold, but violent and rash ; accustomed from his youth to all sorts of Crimes, and boasting in infamous actions. Having spent his Estate in debauchery, and finding himself deep in debt, he could find no other way to recruit himself then by renouncing his Religion, and betraying his Country. Before he went to the Court

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of *Mahomet*, he had more exactly then *Demetrius*, observ'd all the Fortifications of *Rhodes*, and had made a Plat-form of them, with an Inventory of the Artillery, and all the Munitions of the place. By that means he got access to *Basba Misach Paleologue*, and insinuate himself into the favour of *Mahomet*.

These two Villaines, who were acquainted an *Rhodes*, enter'd into a strict Friendship, and consulted together the destruction of the order of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*. The confidence that *Mahomet* repos'd in them, gave them the boldness to declare themselves. However, they did not do it at first; they discours'd him several times with the Island of *Rhodes*, laying before his eyes the beauty of the Countrey, the temperature of the Air, and the conveniency of the Harbor. After which they represented to him sometimes by word of mouth, and sometimes by the information, which they had given of the Grandees of the Court, that the Knights had usurp'd so fair an Island from the
Mussel-

Musfel-men that enjoy'd it before, when *Foulk de Velaret*, a French man, and Master, of the Hospital of St. *John of Jerusalem* settled himself there, that nothing could be more proper for the Ottoman Emperors, then a place that might facilitate the Conquest of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and lastly, that the Enterprize was no less easy then honourable. They told him that there was but little provision, and but few Souldiers in *Rhodes*; and shewing him the Plat-form of the City, they gave him to understand that the Walls of the Castle were old and ruinous; that the Jews quarter was the most weak, and that when he had won *Sr. Nicholas Tower*, it would be easy to gain the rest. They added also that *Rhodes* being the passage to *Italy*, he was not to despise the Favours of Fortune that offer'd him the Conquest of *Rome* as well as of *Constantinople*; besides that, it did not become him to suffer a Captain of a Troop of Vagabond Knights, to refuse to do him that homage which Kings themselves were forc'd to stoop to.

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Now as Princes have their ears open to Councils that flatter their ambition, *Mahomet* easily harken'd to the instigations of *Demetrius* and *Meligate*. However, being wise, and knowing that precipitate rashness is the ruin of many great undertakings, he thought it convenient to consult his chief Ministers before he resolv'd upon any thing: Who being of a contrary opinion to that of the Renegado's, did all they could to divert him from the expedition against *Rhodes*. They represented to him, how that the City was newly fortify'd; that Souldiers and Ammunition were brought in every day; That the Grand Master was an extraordinary person, too courageous to yield, and too vigilant to be surpriz'd. They put *Mahomet* in mind, that though the forces of the Knights were not comparable to his, yet he could never take the least Castle from them, with all the Armies which he had sent against them; and that it behov'd him to consider the future by what had pass'd; besides that upon

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on the least Motion which he should make that way, all *Europe* and *Asia* would take Arms in favour of the *Rhodians*. That the Grand Master had renew'd an alliance with the *Soldan* of *Agypt*; and that without any great difficulty, he would be able to make the King of *Persia* his friend. That the Pope labour'd to unite the Princes of Christendom against the *Ottoman* Empire; that all these Enemies united in a league together, would not fail to assault him in several places together, and make such a diversion of his own Forces, that in some place or other they would certainly recover to his loss. They added moreover, that there were other Islands to take before *Rhodes*. They shew'd him besides, that the Conquest of *Rhodes* would be no addition to his renown; that he might conquer new Empires, but never regain lost honour, which he hazarded all at once in a dangerous expedition, where he had nothing to win, but where he had so much to lose. At length they con-

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cluded

cluded all, that the safest way was by negotiation, and accommodation to engage the Knights to pay him some yearly tribute; and thereupon they advis'd him to send an Ambassador to the Grand Master to propose him Peace upon those conditions. But that they might not offend the Grand Signior in case of refusal, they were of opinion that the Embassy should be sent in the name of *Yezim* his Son, and *Selebi* his Nephew, telling him also that such a way of proceeding could not but take effect; or at least that during the negotiation, the Knights would not be so strict upon their guards; so that under the pretence of treaty, he might surprize the Castle of *St. Peter*, and facilitate thereby the enterprize upon *Rhodes*, whenever he should determine to undertake it.

Whatever inclinations *Mahomet* might have to follow the counsel of the Renegado's, he stuck to the advice of his Ministers; and it may be said, that at that time he made his ambition give way to his prudence.

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They made choice of *Demetrius* for the chief in the Embassy. That wicked man was easily satisfied that his opinion was not follow'd, partly for the confidence which they repos'd in him, and partly out of the hopes which he had, that his counsel might afterwards be resum'd into consideration, if the negotiation which he had taken upon him, did not produce any good effect. He was entrusted with a Letter to the Grand Master, written in Greek, and sign'd in Turkish by the two Princes. The Contents whereof are as follows, conformable to the Original Copy.

1478

H 4

TO

TO THE

Thrice Generous, and Thrice Famous Prince, Peter D'Aubusson, Grand Master of Rhodes; or, Thrice Honoured Father and Lord.

Integrity and Valour have so many Charms to allure the love of men, of whatsoever Nation or Religion, that it is no wonder if the Princes of the Blood Royal of the Ottomans, and of the Sect of the Prophet Mahomet, have no mean thoughts of friendship for you and your Order. We are obliged thereto, and in some measure forc'd to it, by the Renown which your Heroick Vertues have acquir'd over all the East. Yet some there are who have endeavour'd to render you obnoxious to our Thrice Illustrious Emperor. And some of his Favourites continually exasperate him to turn his Victorious Arms against you, to abolish the Christian Name in your destruction. But we
far

far from inspiring him with any such thoughts, have us'd all our endeavors to avert his formidable Thunder from your Dominions: and we have been so successful therein, that his Highness refuses not to bear k'n to Peace, willing to receive you into the number of his Allies. Of which we were desirous to give you information by Demetrius our Embassador, to whom you may give credit. If you will but list'n to the Propositions which he shall make you on our behalf, as we conjure you to do, we are ready to be our selves the Mediators, and the chief Promoters of your quiet. In expectation of your answer, we pray the All-powerful Creator of Heaven and Earth to preserve you in a flourishing condition. From the City of Patara, the 9th of February, in the year of the Birth of your Prophet Jesus, 1478.

Your Sons, and good Friend,
7EM SCELEB, Son of the
 Invincible Emperor *Mahomet*,
 and *Che-Le-Bi*, Sultan Sangiack
 of *Mandactria*.

Though

Though this Letter were but only a snare which the *Sultan* laid for the Grand Master, it was sincere on the Princes side that were put upon the affair. For they had both of them a natural affection for the Knights of *Rhodes*, and something of an inclination to the Christian Religion; particularly *Zaim*, who was endu'd with much Generosity, and a Regularity in his conditions.

After *Demetrius* had presented the Letter to the Grand Master, he declar'd to him that he did not demand but only a slight Tribute for the sole conditions of the Peace; and then craftily insinuated that the Proposals of the Princes were too civil to be deny'd by the generosity of the Knights. That the friendship of the Invincible *Mahomet* was above the value of a slight homage. That it highly concern'd the Christians to act prudently with a Conqueror who made all the Earth to tremble, and who vouchsaf'd to be their friend.

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These fair words wrought little effect; for besides that the Grand Master was informed by his Spies, that they had a mind to surprize them, he conjectur'd of himself at the motives of the Embassy by the Person of the Ambassador; who was not unknown to him. The very name of *Renegado* gave him a suspicion. He lookt upon *Demetrius* as a Traitor, whom it behov'd him to beware of, and not as a person with whom he could negotiate securely. So that the affair miscarry'd at first, where *Mahomet* thought he had done for the best. Of so great importance it is for the success of Negotiations and Embassies to employ persons of Integrity and honour; or at least such as have the reputation of being so.

Nevertheless the Grand Master dissembl'd his distrust, and judging how advantageous a suspension of Arms would be, till such time as all the warlike Provision which he expected every day were arrived, together with the Knights which had been summon'd, he did not utterly reject
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the Propositions of *Demetrius*, neither did he absolutely accept it : and whatever Artifice the cunning Fox could use to draw from him a precise answer, all his reply was, that the Knights of *Rhodes* could not treat with *Mahomet* without the permission of the Pope ; that questionless his Holiness would not oppose the peace, provided that his Master would harken to those Conditions which had formerly been concluded with *Amurath*, that is to say, without any mention of Tribute. That in expectation of the Popes answer, it would do well, if so it pleas'd the *Ottoman* Princes, that there should be a Cessation of Arms, and liberty of Commerce between the Christians and the Turks.

The *Renegado*, who well understood how nice the Knights were in point of Tribute, and thought of nothing more then a positive refusal at first, contented himself that he had set the business a foot. And the better to bring it to a happy conclusion, promised of his own accord, in the names of
Zizim

Zizim and *Shelebi* what the Grand Master had desir'd, and departed very well satisfy'd: that he was not flatly deny'd.

The Grand Master wrote a very civil Letter to the two Princes; he thanked them for their kind endeavours, and highly applauded their good intentions; but he declar'd at the same time, without so much as mentioning the Tribute, that he could not come to any conclusion, till he knew the Popes resolution, and how the Christian Princes stood affected to it, who made the affairs of *Rhodes* their own business.

Demetrius had no sooner given an accompt of his Negotiation, but the Princes sent him back, with order not to speak a word more of the Tribute, and to demand only some small present, to cover with a specious Title that submission which *Mahomet* exacted from the Knights. But their answer was still the same that they could make no engagement, till they had heard news from *Rome*. All that they could farther say, was, that

that those Presents which were exacted yearly, did very much resemble presents, and that the Knights of *Rhodes* were not overforward to make any kind of Presents to the Grand Signior.

Demetrius understood well enough what they meant. However he was yet in hopes that the Grand Master might at length be brought to relent, and to engage him thereto by his Interest, he promis'd him again a suspension of Arms, with liberty of Trade. Nevertheless the Grand Master did not fail to prepare for War, as if there had not been so much as any discourse of peace; and that *Mahomet* should not be inform'd of any thing, he order'd that no Vessel should stir out of the Port. He soon perceiv'd that the Infidels were not very curious in observing Truces: and the advice which was brought him that the *Turkish* Brigantines had taken certain Vessels belonging to the Order, near the Islands of *Calamo* and *Episcopia*, confirm'd him more and more in the thoughts which he had, that
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all this Treaty was but an Artifice; and he rather believ'd that the *Turks* were so much the more ready to be-seige *Rome*, by how much they seem'd to be farthest from any such design. So that he renew'd all the Orders which he had given out for the security of the City; he also sent to *Naples* the Knight *D' Albalat* of *Aragon* to buy Corn, and besides that, as he was resolv'd that the *Barbarians* should not carry by famine what they could not win by force, he sent into *Aegypt* and *Syria* for plenty of all sorts of Provisions.

In the mean time the Knights arriv'd at *Rhodes* from all parts of Christendom. And in regard the assembly which was to be held the first of *May*, was put off by the Popes Bull, and deferr'd to the 28th of *October*, by an order of Council they appear'd almost all at a time.

The Grand Master, at the opening the Assembly, made a speech that made no small Impression upon their Spirits. After the usual ceremonies and

and Formalities, the sixteen who were elected for the Government of all things, laid new Taxes upon all the Commanderies, and earnestly desir'd the Grand Master to take upon him the administration of the Revenue. Though he had other weighty business enough to do, and that this alone was sufficient to take up a mans whole time, he readily accepted it; but the easiness wherewith he acquitted himself of a charge so burthenome, oblig'd the Knights to qualify the hardness of the Labour by the entire confidence which they manifestly let him see they had in him. They gave him full power to employ to what uses, and after what manner he should think good, all the money that should be brought into the Treasury. They also order'd that all the Ammunition and Warlike provisions should be put into his hands, to distribute as he should see cause. Moreover that he should have power to create the Receiver General of *Avignon*, and all the other Receivers, by one Warrant alone sign'd by his hand :
that

that without having regard to the priority of Languages, nor the antiquity of the Knights, he might make the *Castellane* of *Rhodes*, the Judges and Baili of Commerce, the Captain of the Castle *St. Peter*, and all the Captains of the Gallies. That he might also choose the Captains of the three Towers, and the Gates of the City; that in case the Grand Commandery of *Cyprus*, the Bayliage of *Lango*, and the Office of Procurator General at the Court at *Rome* came to be vacant during his administration, it should be free for him to dispose thereof, as his pleasure. But to the end he might not be thwarted in the exercise of his charge, they forbid the Bayliffs, the Priors, and all the rest of the Knights to meddle in any manner whatsoever with the treasury. They also gave him the liberty to retain next his person, or to send to what place he pleas'd, seven of the Grand Crosses which they nam'd, and to choose others by his own particular authority, if any one happen to miscarry. Lastly, because

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the revenue of the Grand Master was very much impair'd, because of their extraordinary expences for the Fortifications of the Island, or for the aid of the Subjects of the Order, they permitted him to keep in his hands, during this life, three of those Commanderies which he had the privilege to dispose of himself, as Grand Master.

Hardly were the affairs of the Chapter at an end, when news was brought, that the Infidels had shewn themselves before the Castle of St. Peter, under pretence of parlying upon an accommodation, but in truth to surprize the Garrison. The Grand Master wrote further to the Governour of the Castle, and commanded him, by vertue of the holy obedience, to have no commerce with them, and to treat with them as if there were no truce in being. Neither was he satisfi'd in giving him his Orders, and advertizing him of the Ambuscades of the enemies; he also sent him a considerable reinforcement of Knights and Souldiers, which

which forc'd the enemy to retire.

But that the Order might not be in want of Money, when there was more occasion for it then ever, the Grand Master, according to the absolute authority which he had in the management of the Treasury, establish'd the Knight *D'Erland* his Lieutenant in the Priories of *St. Giles's* and *Tholouse*, with ample power to change the Receivers and the Treasurers; to be urgent with bad Paymasters, and to punish them if there were occasion; and to do his utmost to raise what large sums he could. He dispatch'd away the Knight *Chiall* for the same cause, into the Priories of *France*, *Aquitain*, and *Champaign*, after he had honour'd him with the dignity of Knight Hospitaller of the Order, which he had tak'n from the Knight *de Malzy*, for not appearing at *Rhodes* according to the time prefix'd in the Bull. He more severely handl'd also other Knights, who being oblig'd to have made their appearance at the Assembly, had contemn'd his Orders,

and instead of hastning to the defence of the Island, loyter'd at home, either plung'd in the pleasures of an effeminate life, or taken up with the affairs of the world. For after he had declar'd them disobedient and Rebels, he took away from them their habit, and cut them off from the body of the Order.

Now, though *Mahomet* got no advantage by all his devices, however he continu'd his undermining practices; imagining, according to the principles of his policy, that men were so much the more to affect credit and reputation, by how much the more those persons, with whom he treated, had a distrust; and that there are such moments wherein the wisest are surpriz'd, when a man knows how to maintain a cheat long enough.

Therefore in some measure to repair the fault which he had committed, in making choice of a suspected person, he sent a *Turk* of merit to *Rhodes*; and to take off all suspition, he resolv'd to appear, and own the

the negotiation himself. The Embassador did all that lay in his power to perswade the *Rhodians* to believe that the Grand Signior sincerely desir'd a Peace; and he declar'd in full Council, that he came as well on the Grand Signior's behalf, as on the part of *Zizim*, to conclude it in the most amicable manner that might be. He deliver'd himself worthy and nobly, and far from that insolent and disdainful air with which the *Turks* are wont to treat the Christians, with whom they negotiate; there appear'd neither pride nor haughtiness in his behaviour. But all this affected carriage, whereby the Embassador of the *Ottoman* Court pretended to dispel the suspicions of the Grand Master, did but augment them. He conjectur'd that such an extraordinary shew of sincerity was but a mask of more fine and subtil deception; that there was no more credit to be given to the words of the unknown person, than to the *Greek* Renegado: For which reason he gave the second Em-

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bassador no other answer then he had giv'n the former. But because that he who intends to defend himself from a conceal'd enemy, is not by any means to make his discovery publick ; and for that there are certain decencies to be observ'd with Illustrious enemies, how perfidious soever they be ; The Grand Master would not permit the *Turkish* Embassador to have the least glimpse of his intentions, but sent a Knight along with him, to let *Mahomet* understand that the Order was ready to make Peace with him upon the ancient conditions, but that he could not submit to the payment of any duty. *Mahomet* extremely resented a refusal so plain and so haughty, but he had so much power over himself as to disguise it. And therefore instead of manifesting his displeasure against the Embassador of *Rhodes*, he shew'd him all the marks of his favour ; and the better to make good his Politicks, he added rich Presents to his flattering words.

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Yet all this did not dazzle the eyes of the Grand Master ; and therefore considering what he had done, he thought it but reasonable to put himself in a posture to expect the utmost of extremities, believing it would not be long ere the Grand Signior's fury would break out.

Mahomet indeed set forth from *Constantinople* with a Puissant Army. But instead of turning towards *Rhodes*, he march'd toward *Scutari*, whether it were out of an intention to amuse the Knights, making them believe that he had no thoughts upon them ; or whether he had a design to affright them, and at the same time to punish the *Venetians* for their obstinate resistance. The City was besieg'd three years by the *Turks*; and it may be said, that never place was more vigorously attack'd, nor more generously defended. The Assailants gave several Onsets at several times ; and if we may believe the Writers of that time, they threw so many Arrows and Javelins into the Cities, that the besieg'd had enough to make

up the breaches of the Walls, and for necessary firing when their wood was spent. And that which was more strange, they were nothing dismayed by the cruelties of *Mahomet*, who caus'd three hundred Prisoners to be cut in two in view of the Town. The only want of Victuals and Soldiers constrain'd them to surrender. And the reducing of *Scutari* was one of the Articles of Peace which the *Turks* made with the Common-wealth of *Venice*.

The Grand Master after that made no question but that all the fury of the *Ottoman* power would fall upon him. But because the affair of *Rhodes* was the common cause of the Church, and that without the assistance of the Christian Princes, it was not possible to hold out against the *Barbarians* any long time, he dispatch'd away three Knights of singular worth to the principal Courts of *Europe*.

And because it was of high importance in case of a Siege, that some of the Knights should continue abroad to solicit the Succour of the Princes,
and

and to manage the other affairs of the Order, the Grand Master order'd the Knight *Piozzasco*, whom he had establish'd his Lieutenant, when he sent him to *Sixtus* the fourth, and who had always been resident in the Court of *Rome*. He commanded the Knight *Blanchefort*, his Nephew, whom he sent to *Lewis* the eleventh to stay in *France* with the Knights *de Bridiers*, and *de Danvois*, who accompanied him in his Embassy. And having thus settl'd his affairs, he resolv'd to put himself into a posture to receive the *Barbarians*, fully believing that the *Turkish* Army would suddenly appear before *Rhodes*. Nor was his conjecture false. *Mahomet* put off his Vizor; and as before his ambition gave way to his prudence, now his prudence gave way to his choler and despight. He could no longer endure that a small Republick should brave him in the very bosom of his Empire, and the haughtiness of the Knights augmented his so far, as to make him fall into transports of rage, which would not permit him to listen

listen to the reasons of his wisest Ministers. He believ'd none but *Demetrius* and *Meligale*; those two Renegado's obtain'd the sole disposal of his thoughts; and according to the custom of interested Courtiers, who flatter the passion of the Prince to satisfy their own; they so vehemently incens'd him against the *Rhodians*, and the Order of *St. John*, that he resolv'd to lay siege to *Rhodes*.

The better to fix and settle so important an enterprize, he held a secret Council, to which he call'd the most expert Engineers of all his Armies; but the person he most confided in, was *George Frapam*, a *German*, who was profoundly skill'd in the art of War, and who after he had liv'd some years in the Island of *Scio*, went to *Constantinople*, where being marri'd, he had access to the Grand Signior, who lov'd men of Parts. He had formerly been at *Rhodes*, and had taken an exact plat-form of the City. Upon this plat-form, as that which was adjudg'd the most regular of all the rest,

rest, he began to lay his contrivances for the management of the siege. *Mahomet*, who was resolv'd not to go in person, whether for fear of hazarding his Renown, or else not caring to honour the Knights by fighting against them himself, declar'd his *Basha*, *Misach Paleologus*, General of his Army. This was his principal Favourite, and the most illustrious *Basha* of the whole Empire. He was a *Greek* of the Imperial House of the *Paleologi*, born a Christian, and bred up in Christianity. He forsook his Religion to save his life at the taking of *Constantinople*, when the Conqueror put to death all that fell into his hands of the Family or Blood of the Emperor *Constantine*. Having abjur'd his Faith, it was no hard thing for him to obtain the highest Commands in the *Ottoman* Court. His wit, his courage and deportment, were answerable to his birth. He had by degrees habituated himself to the customs of the *Turks*; yet not altogether forgetting the fashions of the *Greeks*; so that in him the

the rudeness of the one, and the politeness of the other, seem'd to be both joyn'd together. When he had gain'd the favour of the Grand Signior, he accompani'd him in all his military Expeditions, and always shar'd both in his designs and Conquests. So that in time he acquir'd great experience in War; and it was the general opinion of *Turkey*, that next to *Mahomet*, there was none more fit to undertake the Conduct of a difficult enterprize then *Basha Paleologus*.

In the mean while, for fear the Grand Master should have advice of what pass'd at *Constantinople*, *Mahomet* set guards upon all the Passes, and commanded his Governors to stop all Posts, and to open all Letters. He order'd also a great number of Infantry to fall down through *Asia* the less. But that it should not be thought that he intended a siege, while he prepares the great Ships which were to carry the extraordinary pieces of Cannon; he sent forth out of the Streight a hunder'd and fifty light Ships with ordinary Artillery, giving it

it our at the same time, that the whole design of the *Ottoman* Court, was to pillage the Sea Coasts and Islands of the Christians.

Basha Paleologus stay'd not till the great Fleet was ready; he went abroad the first Vessels that set sail; and to conceal his design from the *Turks* themselves, he steer'd a course different from that of *Rhodes*. *Mahomet* was pleas'd that *Demetrius* and *Meligale* should bear the *Basha* Company together with the *German* Engineer, from whom he promised himself great matters.

All these precautions of *Mahomet* and the *Basha*, could not prevent but that the designs of the *Ottoman* Court were discover'd at *Rhodes*; the Grand Master being inform'd of every thing by his Spies which he kept in the *Ottoman* Court. However the News did not come much before the Gallies that set out first began to appear. For they shew'd themselves within sight of the Island upon the fourth day of *December* in the year 1479. and came to an Anchor before the
Fort

Fort of *Fano*. The General of the *Turks*, who would not be idle, in expectation of the rest of his Forces, immediately landed the Cavalry which he had brought with him; and order'd his Avant Curriers to harraßs the Countrey, and burn the Villages.

The Knight *Rodolphus* of *Wertemberg*, Bailly of *Brandenburgh*, whom the Grand Master had assign'd to sustain the first efforts of the Enemy, did not suffer the *Spahi's* punctually to execute the Orders of their General; for he charg'd them at the head of the Light Horse which he commanded, and after he had slain several of them, forc'd the rest to betake them to their Ships.

This Repulse constrain'd the *Basha* to retire; but it was only to attacque *Felo*, one of the Islands which the Knights possess'd in the Archipelago. The *Turks* batter'd the Fort without ceasing for eight days together, and several times they scal'd the Walls, but all to no purpose; for the Knights, the Souldiers, and the Coun-

Country men that defended the place, made so stout a resistance, that the Enemy rais'd his Siege with no small loss and disgrace. Whereupon the Grand Master did not only commend in full council the valour of the Garrison, but also sent considerable rewards to those that had most courageously behav'd themselves, proportionable to their condition and merit.

These first Exploits encourag'd the Christians, though they did discourage the Infidels. Nor did *Melissach Palaeologus* lay so much to heart the misfortune of his Arms, as the death of *Meligale*. That Renegade, whom the *Bajba* reserv'd for great occasions, was struck with a prodigious disease upon the Sea, which carry'd him off in a few days. His body was all over nothing but corruption; and besides the insupportable stench of his Corps, the Worms which eat him alive, render'd him a miserable spectacle to all the world; the sight of which was dreadful to behold. After he had endur'd the utmost

most extremities of Torment, and in vain implor'd relief from Heaven, he dy'd blaspheming God, and cursing men, almost in view of *Rhodes*. Paying that punishment, which his Country exacted from him by a most Tragical end.

In the mean time the *Turkish* Fleet pass'd the Streight of *Gallipoli*, and the Forces that came by Land, rendezvouz'd in *Lycia*, as they were appointed. There the report ran that *Mahomet* was suddenly dead, and that the Souldiers which march'd from all parts, were only to prevent such Commotions and Insurrections as are wont to happen upon the death of the Emperor. A *Greek* Spy, who was discover'd at *Rhodes*, and the Prisoners that were taken and sent thither by the Knights of the Fort of *Fano*, confess'd all they knew. By other means also the Grand Master understood that the Enemies Fleet drew nearer and nearer, and being one that was accusom'd to false reports, he believ'd nothing less then the death of *Mahomet*; and as for that

that of *Meligale*, he look'd upon it as an example of Divine Justice; and a pledg of Victory.

However he omitted not to take all the caution that Humane prudence could require. And therefore considering that the Churches of *St. Mary* and *St. Anthony*, that stood without the City, and very near the Walls, might serve for shelter for the Infidels; and annoy the Town; he caus'd them to be pull'd down. He order'd that the Inhabitants who had Gardens and Houses about the City; should cut down all the Trees that did not bear Fruit, and that they should bring into *Rhodes* as much of the Wood as they could. He commanded them also to cut down all the Barley and Oats that were grown up; that the Enemy might want forrage for their Horses, and also all the Wheat, and to spoil the Grass and green Plants. After which having chosen for Captains of the Successors, the Hospitaller, the Admiral, the Chancellour and Treasurer of the Order; he gave instructions to the
K Knights

Knights of the several Languages what they should severally act: exhorting them in a few words to acquit themselves faithfully of their duties. *Behold, said he, Brave Knights, an opportunity at length for ye all to shew what ye are. We have provisions of all sorts in abundance, and though our forces are not so numerous as those of the Enemy, they are both valianter and better disciplin'd. Italy, France, Germany, all Christendom will send us relief, and we are assur'd of Victory, provided we do our duty. Jesus Christ as our Captain in the War, he will not forsake them that fight for his names sake; And it will only belong to you, when you have caus'd the Infidels to raise their Siege, to drive them out of Constantinople, with the assistance of the Christian Princes.*

But because the Grand Master was fully perswaded, that in affairs the best order'd are not always successful, unless favour'd and prosper'd by God himself: he caus'd publick prayers to be made to Heaven, and sent for an Image of the Virgin. It was that
which

which the *Rhodians* worshipp'd upon Mount *Palermus*, and which after *Solyman* had taken *Rhodes* was carry'd to *Malta*, where it still remains in the Church of St. *John* the Baptist. What the fatal Image of *Minerva* was to the people of *Troy*, that was the Image of the Virgin to the people of *Rhodes*; who believ'd they had nothing to fear while she was in the midst of them.

In the mean while the Sentinel that stood upon the top of St. *Stevens* Mount, gave a Signal, to advertize that the Enemies Fleet appear'd. The Grand Master hasted to the Mountain to satisfy his own eyes, carrying along with him men expert in Sea affairs, who were all of one opinion, by the course which the Fleet steer'd, that they were bound to join with the *Basha*, who stay'd for them in the Port of *Fesco*; there to embarque all his Forces. Nor were they deceiv'd. For the Souldiers being imbarqu'd with all speed, the *Ottoman* Fleet compos'd of a hundred and sixty Sail, steer'd directly along the

K 3

Coast

1480

Coast of *Lycia*, with a fair Gale : at length it appear'd before *Rhodes* again the 23^d of May in the year 1480. Then to see the excellent order of the *Barbarians*, to hear the joyful shouts of the *Barbarians*, the sound of the Fifes, the noise of the Trumpets ; it seem'd, as if they had been Triumphant Victorers making their entry into a conquer'd City.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
Peter D'Aubuffon,
Grand Master of
RHODES.

Book Third.

THE City of *Rhodes* so famous in Antiquity for Art and Science, there cherish'd, and for the birth of so many famous men, is seated by the Seaside upon the descent of a little Hill, which rises insensibly, in a pleasant plain, in the North part of the Island, that bears its name. It is crown'd
K 3 with

with several little Hillocks full of clear Springs; and which in the time of the Grand Master, whose story I write, were all shaded with Orange, Pomegranate Trees, and others of the same nature. It was then well built, immur'd with a double Wall, fortify'd with several Towers, that were encompass'd every one with a kind of Ravelin or Bastion. A great Rampart sustain'd these Walls within, and a large and deep Moat environ'd them without. But toward the South, and on that side where the *Jews* inhabited in the low Town, the Towers were something more distant one from another; for which reason that side was so much the weaker.

The Quarter where the Knights liv'd, which was call'd the Mansions, of the Languages, which was a kind of City by it self, was the stronger not only for its situation, but also for the situation which art had added to it. For besides that the Sea wash'd it upon the North and East, it was defended by two Bulwarks,

nine

nine Towers, and by a particular Fortification that extended it self to the Sea. A very thick Wall, and flank'd with good Towers, sepatated it from the low Town, which the people and inhabitants possess'd. The Palace of the Grand Master that run along the Mansions of the Knight upon the West side, was better fortify'd then the rest, having three or four distinct enclosures.

The Port that was the chief defence of the whole City, look'd toward the East, and somewhat toward the North. It was made by two Moles, that stretching themselves from the Walls of the City, and almost meeting one another, left no more room but for one Gally at a time to enter. The entry was guarded by two strong Towers, seated upon two Rocks, upon which formerly stood the famous Colossus of Brass, which was accounted one of the seven wonders of the World.

Two little Bosomes of Sea did as it were adorn the Port upon the North and South sides, and a Mole that

K 4

strech'd

stretch'd it self above three hunder'd paces into the Sea, at the end whereof stood the Tower of *St. Nicholas*, which clos'd the bosom that lay upon the North.

If we may believe the old *Arabick* Chronicles, intermixt with many fables, this Fort was anciently built by an *Arabian* Prince, call'd by the name of *Muharias*, a great Souldier, and Son of *Abi Sufian*. This Prince, from Governor of *Egypt* and *Syria*, coming to be *Caleph* nine and thirty years after *Mahomet*, was no sooner seated upon the *Arabian* Throne, but he resolv'd to conquer all the *Roman* Empire; and his first design was to attraque *Constantinople* by Sea and Land. But he was advis'd to go first to *Rhodes*, which the exploits of the *Romans* made every day more famous then other, among all the Nations of the World. For the bringing of which enterprize to pass, having besieg'd the City, he built a Tower just by the Port, upon the Rocks that ran very far into the Sea. And those fabulous Stories relate that he

he built this Tower so high, that the top of it touch'd the Heavens, and the foundations reach'd to the center of the Earth.

The truth is, that after the *Venetians* had rais'd the siege of *Rhodes*, in the year 1464, the Grand Master, *Zacosta*, considering of what great advantage a Fort built upon those Rocks would be for the defence of the City, began that very year to build the Tower of *St. Nicholas*, and that *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, gave twelve thousand Crowns in Gold to finish it; which engag'd the Knights to set the Arms of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Provinces under his subjection, upon the Tower.

1464

This was the condition of the City of *Rhodes*, when it was besieg'd by the Army of *Mahomet*. The Fleet came to an Anchor just against *St. Steven's Mount*; and mauger all that the Knights could do to hinder their landing, the *Turks* got footing, and lodg'd themselves immediately upon the Mount, and in the neighbouring plains: At the same time they

they brought a-shore all their Artillery also, and their Engines of War. The *Basba* had in his Army, which consisted at least of a hunder'd thousand men, all the best Squadrons of *Anatolia*, the choice of the *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, above four thousand Volunteers, several *Beys* of *Romania* and other Governments; and lastly, several Companies compos'd of the *Veteran* Bands that had follow'd *Mahomet* in all his military Expeditions.

No sooner were they encamp'd, but a Troop of Volunteers came briskly up to the walls of the City, to brave the *Rhodians*; whether the first heat with which they landed were not yet allaid, or whether they thought that some bold and irregular action could do no harm at the beginning of the Siege. But their precipitation cost them dear; for a party of the Knights sallying out upon them, charg'd them so vigorously, that after they had slain a great number of them, they put the rest to flight. The Knights were no sooner re-enter'd, but the

Barba-

Barbarians return'd in better order, and far more numerous, to observe the condition of the Town. The Renegado, *Demetrius*, was in the head of them; in whom the *Basha* most confided, since the death of *Meligale*. Thereupon the Knights made a second sally, commanded by *Antony D'Aubuffon*, Vicount of *Monteril*, the Grand Master's Brother.

He arriv'd at *Rhodes* but some days before, with an Equipage and a Train answerable to his Quality. He came to *Rhodes* not only with an intention to go to *Jerusalem*, and to visit the holy Sepulcher, according to the custom of those times; but also to assist the Grand Master, his Brother, and to serve the Church, finding himself in a Siege with which the Knights were menac'd every moment. He was a person of great Honour and Generosity, very skilful in the art of War, and one that profoundly understood the world. He was made Captain General of the *Rhodians* upon his arrival, the Heads of the Council, who knew his worth, making

making choice of him with one consent. He had brought along with him several Gentlemen of *Marche*, that were his Tenants, or else his Friends; not to speak of other Soldiers that accompani'd him, of which the chief were *Lewis of Chaon*, of one of the most noble Houses of *Anjou*, *William Gomare of Xaintonge*, *Matthew Brangelier of Perigord*, *Claudian Colombe of Bourdeaux*, *Charles le Roy of Dijon*, and *Lewis Singuin of Paris*.

The Vicount of *Monteil* staid not till the enemy came up to him, but march'd to them with his Sword in his hand, and charg'd them vigorously with his Troop. The *Turks* sustain'd the first charge without stirring, and *Demetrius* encourag'd them so by his words, and his example, that they at length made the Christians give ground. They had perhaps put them to disorder, if the Vicount of *Monteil* had not impetuously spurr'd his Horse upon the chief of the *Barbarians*, who seem'd to him to be the most resolv'd and courageous. The
Knights

Knights followed the Vicount, and behav'd themselves so valiantly, that the enemies were presently cut to pieces, mauger all the resistance they made. *Demetrius* defended himself with all the courage that honour and fury could inspire into him. But his Horse being kill'd under him, he was himself thrown to the ground, and trampled over by the Horses. Inso-much, that he who had abjur'd the Faith, and conspir'd the destruction of *Rhodes*, advanc'd the design of the Infidels no more than his friend *Meligalus*; over whom he had only this advantage, to dye with his Arms in his hands, and signalizing his valour; a death too noble for a Renegado and a Traytor.

The *Rhodians* in this encounter only lost the Knight *de Murdt*, of the *Auvernian* Language, and one of the bravest persons of the Order. He was encompassed by a Body of *Spahi's*, being in the pursuit of some that ran away, and run through in a thousand places, while he was disarming *Demetrius*. The *Turks* put his head up-
on

on the end of a Lance, and to comfort themselves for their misfortune, carri'd it into their Camp with most hideous yellings, and shouts of derision. The body was recover'd out of their hands by Knights, and the Grand Master caus'd him to be enter'd with all the pomp and honour that so renown'd an action deserv'd.

These first attempts not having succeeded with the Infidels, the *Dutch* Engineer advis'd the battering of *St. Nicholas* Tower, believing that if they could master that, the City would soon surrender; or at least, that they should thereby hinder any Vessel from getting into the Port. The *Basha* believ'd the Engineer, and the *Turks* carri'd three great pieces of Artillery into the Gardens adjoynting to *St. Anthony's* Church, which commanded the Tower. They presently cut down the trees, and after they had plac'd their Gabions to secure themselves, they shot without ceasing.

The Grand Master immediately rais'd a Counter Battery with three pieces,

pieces, in the Garden of the *Auvern*-
nian lodgings. Now, in regard the
noise of the Cannon, that never lay
still all day long, alarm'd the inhabi-
tants, he walk'd his rounds about the
City, accompani'd by the principal
Knights, confirming the courage of
the people by his presence. He also
visited all the Posts the same night,
encouraging the Souldiers, and ex-
horting them to fight courageously
for the Faith.

No sooner the day began to peep,
but the *German* Engineer appear'd
upon the brink of the City Moat,
humbly desiring the Guards to open
the Gates for him; but the Souldi-
ers had certainly shot him, had not
some of the more prudent Knights
prevented them. Thereupon, by the
command of the Grand Master, he
was set in, and conducted to the Ca-
stle. He was a person of a very good
presence, and tall in stature; he had
a crafty wit, quite contrary to the
character of his Nation; bold enough,
and one that knew how to use his
tongue. He was known at *Rhodes*,
and

and was accompted one of the most skilful Artists of his time. Being examin'd what reason had brought him thither, he answer'd, that he came to defend *Rhodes*. That he could no longer endure the reproaches of his own conscience, for having employ'd his art against the faithful ; that preferring his Salvation before his Fortune, he did absolutely renounce the advancement which he might expect among the *Turks* ; that he should be happy to dye in the defence of the Faith. That he desir'd nothing else of God ; but that he durst not hope for a favour, of which he was so unworthy. The Grand Master commended his zeal, without manifesting the least mistrust ; and having exhorted him to persist in his good resolutions, he examin'd him concerning the Army of the *Turks*.

The *German*, the more bold, because he thought himself unsuspected, spoke with an air and a countenance that shew'd nothing of a Traytor, that the *Turkish* Army was above a hunder'd thousand men effective, besides

besides the Forces that were coming to joyn with them ; that the *Turks*, besides their ordinary Cannon, had some prodigious pieces, above eighteen foot long, that carri'd bullets of three foot in diameter. That they were resolv'd to perish all, rather than think of raising the Siege, which was the only thing that griev'd him. He spake with so much confidence, that many believ'd what he said, to be real. The Grand Master, that he might venture nothing, yet make use of the opportunity which Fortune had put into his hands, thought he might make use of the Engineer, though he were resolv'd not to trust him. To that purpose he commanded the Knights, who had the charge of the Artillery, to consult him in every thing, and not to raise any battery without him. And to prevent his return to the *Turks* Camp, or from keeping any correspondence with them, he order'd six of the stoutest Souldiers in the City always to attend him, to whom he gave private instructions to keep him always

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in fight, and never to leave him alone all at a time.

Though the Grand Master had sent to *Rome* the Knight *Cardona*, when the Infidels first appear'd before the Isle ; however he fail'd not to send again, so soon as they were landed, He sent also to the King of *France* and to the other Christian Princes. But because the Letter which he had sent to the absent Priors, had not taken that full effect which he desir'd ; he dispatch'd away another, wherein, after he had given an account of the beginning of the Siege to the Knights that were not yet return'd ; he declar'd to them also that having put all his trust in God, he fear'd neither the force nor cunning of the *Barbarians* ; yet that he hop'd that persons of their worth and renown, would not fail to come to the relief of the Order at such a time of necessity as this. He added also, that notwithstanding the Siege, the Port should be always open to the Vessels of the Christians.

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In the mean while, *Misach Paleologus* having well consider'd the situation and the outside of the Town; and being of Opinion with the Engineer, that all would follow the Tower of *St. Nicholas*, he caus'd his biggest Pieces to be planted where they had rais'd the first Battery; and in a small time they made above three hundred Shot. The Tower was shaken to the very Foundations, and batter'd in several places. The great Wall upon the West side fell almost all down, and falling, made a most dreadful noise; so that the noise and shouts of joy among the *Barbarians*, caus'd a terrible fear in the City; but they were soon encourag'd by the Exhortations of *Antony Fradin*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, a man eloquent and Apostolick, who run up and down with a Crucifix in his hand performing the same good Offices at *Rhodes*, which *John Capestran* did at *Belgrade*.

The Tower could not stand, considering the condition to which the Cannon had reduc'd it, and yet there

was a necessity of preserving it, or hazarding the loss of all. Thereupon the Grand Master resolv'd to choose the Flower of the Knights and Souldiers to reinforce the Garrison. And having represented to them of what importance it was, not to abandon that post, he sent them thither under the command of *Fabritius Caretta* an *Italian*, conjuring them to remember that they had in their hands the Destiny of *Rhodes*. He also went thither in a Barque himself, to see what work the Cannons had made, and finding that the ruines of the Wall had made a kind of Bastion round about the remaining part, so that their Batteries could do no more harm, he made an enclosure of great Beams mortais'd one within another, and nail'd together, to strengthen the compass of the Wall & the Ditch it self, which was hollow'd out of the Rock : and seeing that some part of the Wall was fallen within the Fort, he caus'd the Ruins to be carry'd away for the conveniency of the Garrison. Then because the little Golph that wash'd the
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the West side of the Mole was sometimes so low that it might be waded, he set all hands at work to prevent the Infidels from making their approaches that way. To that end they laid Planks at the bottom of the Water all stuck with Iron Spiks; and then there was a good strong Guard plac'd upon the out Wall on that side of the City; in the Trenches also lay a stout Squadron of *French* and *Spanish* Knights, to relieve the Garrison in the Tower, upon occasion.

The Grand Master spent all the night a Horse back, and in Arms, stirring continually to keep his men in Breath. The Knights and Souldiers kept their Posts all night, without stirring, but still upon the watch, and ready to fight the Enemy. The Grand Master was also very careful to plant several pieces of Canon all along the Walls of the City that looked toward the Mole of the Tower, to sink the *Turkish* Gallies that should ride there to favour the assault, He also provided several fire Ships to burn the Enemies Gallies while they

made the attack. And in regard all was to be hazarded to save a post, upon which depended the safety of the City, he put himself into the Tower, together with his Brother the Viscount of *Monteile*.

All these Cautions were but little enough ; for day no sooner appear'd, but the *Turkish Gallies* weigh'd from before Mount St. *Stevens*, and steer'd directly to the Tower with a fresh gale, with a loud noise of Trumpets and Drums. No sooner were they come near the Rocks of the Fort, but the *Barbarians* leapt a shoar, and while the Gallies play'd from the Sea, they ran to the assault with a fury that look'd more like desperateness, then courage. At the same time, they within discharg'd all their Cannon from the Walls upon the Galleys, and the Musketeers from the Mole gave the Infidels so smart a Volley, that they kill'd most of them upon the place ; the rest more furious for the slaughter of the others, and reforc'd with fresh supplies, in spite of all the shot from the City, fell boldly to the
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the *Scalado*. They that defended the Tower, encourag'd by the presence of the Grand Master, and the necessity of vanquishing or perishing, sustain'd the assault with a resolution that astonish'd the Assailants. Never was there perhaps an attack more obstinate, nor a more stout defence. The *Turks* that fought almost in the air, tumbl'd every foot from the top of the Rocks either dead or wounded, but their rooms were soon fill'd up; so that it seem'd as if they had been still the same people, & that their blows took no effect. *Alexis* of *Tarsus*, one of the most valiant of the *Turks*, was careful to supply the assault with fresh men. He commanded that day in the place of the *Barsha*, who was detain'd sick in the Camp; and his undauntedness gave so much courage to the *Turks*, that they fought all wounded and bloody as they had been savage-beasts, enrag'd at the sight of their blood, and no way concern'd at the fear of death.

The Butcheries of the *Barbarians* rather redoubl'd then abated the courage of the Knights; who fought like men that had nothing to be good husbands of, but rather sought to kill, then to defend themselves. The Grand Master, who perform'd all the offices of a good Captain, and a private Souldier, had his head-piece struck'n from his head with a stone. But in regard he was neither wounded nor stunn'd with the blow, he took a Hat instead of a Helmet, and continu'd in the heat of the fight with his wonted tranquility; however, he was hit by several Arrows that pierc'd his Armour in several places.

These accidents caus'd the Knights to be very solicitous for their Captain. And the Commander, *Carretta*, seeing many people fall about the Grand Master, besought him earnestly to retire. To whom the Grand Master smiling, reply'd, *You have more to hope for, then I to fear. You will one day reap the fruit of my pains*, added he, by a kind of Prophetical Spirit; as it were foretelling the Com-
mander

mander, that Heaven had desir'd him to be one day Grand Master of *Rhodes*.

The Vicount of *Monteil* shar'd with his Brother in the travel, and the danger; The artificial Fires, and Cannon-shot that flew continually from the Town, and the perpetual showers of Musquet-bullets, Arrows, and Stones, wrought a most wonderful effect. On the other side, the Fire-ships set fire to several Galleys, and the Arillery of the Garrison so ill entreated the Galleys that defended themselves from the Fire-ships, that the enemies, after they had in a short time lost above seven hunder'd of theirs, were constrain'd to give way. Now, as it is usual to run from one extremity to another, and that nothing is weaker then a Plunatick, when the fit is over; these men, valiant even to fury, and who boasted to our brave death, betook themselves to their heels with so much haste, that the most part were drown'd flying.

So.

So soon as the *Turkish* Gallies were rejoyn'd to the rest of the Fleet that lay before St. *Steven's* Mount, and that the Tower of St. *Nicholas* was in no more danger, the Grand Master enter'd the City, together with Knights, who had assisted him to drive out the enemy. All the people receiv'd him as their Preserver, with a thousand acclamations, and throng'd after him to the Church of St. *John Baptist*, whither he went to return thanks to God for the Victory he had gain'd; not questioning but that so much happy success was an effect of divine protection.

The vexation of the *Basha* for the ill success of his first enterprize, did not take from him the hope of succeeding in a second. He was perswaded, that by attacking the City in the weakest part, he should easily repair the loss which he had sustain'd. To which purpose he caus'd eight great pieces of Cannon to be planted against the *Jews* Wall, and threw up several Brest-works for the security of the Infidels. He also lodg'd cer-

certain pieces of Cannon upon the point of land that enclos'd one of the little Golphs ; raising that battery to destroy the Mills that were built all along the Mole, and thunder down the Tower of the Port directly opposite to that point of land.

The Grand Master slept not at all. He knew that the *Jews* Wall could not long resist the *Turks* Cannons, how thick or strong soever it were; and that the only way to save the place, was to entrench himself behind the Wall. For which reason he caus'd several houses to be pull'd down, and a deep Moat to be made, large enough to put a stop to the Infidels, in case they should come to assault the Breaches they should make. He also built up behind the Moat a thick brick-wall with a good Terrass of Earth to sustain it. They labour'd night and day to perfect these works; and the Grand Master himself at the head of the Labourers, was as active as any of the rest, to carry Stones and Lime to advance the work by his presence.

Rich

Rich and Poor, Men, Women, Maids and Religious people, forgetting condition or sex wrought as common Labourers; the very Children did what lay in their power, doing more then the weakness of their age seem'd to permit; apparently incited by something supernatural to the defence of Religion, and their Countrey.

These new Fortifications were hardly finish'd, when the *Turks* began their new Batteries. The Bullets that flew continually, and were of an extraordinary bigness, astonish'd the Engineers of the City, in somuch that the *German* Engineer confess'd that he never saw any thing like them before. The Sea shoar resounded with most dreadful roarings of the Cannon, the noise whereof was heard above forty Leagues from the Island. But the effect was more terrible then the noise; for besides that those Guns caus'd a kind of Earthquake when they went off, the Batteries beat down all the Wall, and made most dreadful breaches.

Besides

Besides the Mortar pieces, which the Enemy had planted round the City, threw up into the Air Stones of a vast bigness, which falling upon the Tiles of the Houses, made their entrance in, and kill'd all that stood in their way; and the horrible Ruin which they made caus'd a sad confusion in the City. The Inhabitants who could be no where safe, neither in their Houses nor in the Streets, began to cry out and matter of surrendering; at what time the Grand Master bethought himself of an expedient which still'd the sedition in its infancy, and sav'd the lives of an infinite company of people. He order'd that the Women, Children, and persons that were of no use, should all retire into the space which was between the Houses and the Ramparts upon the West side, all which space he cover'd with a most substantial roof, compos'd of good Rasters joyn'd together, and able to resist the weight of much bigger Stones. The *Turks* who knew not that the Citizens had quitted their houses, directed

rected their Engines against those places which they thought most inhabited; so that at last those murderous showres took little effect. The Soldiers and the Knights receiv'd but little harm, whose Posts were like Bulworks; no more then from the Artillery which the Turks plaid from a rising ground that did but little command the City.

The *Basha* who thought to have reduc'd the City by the discharge of his great pieces, finding that the besieged spoke not a word of Capitulation, yet not willing to hazard the Assault, took a strange resolution to put an end to the Seige. He consider'd that the person of the Grand Master was the main obstacle that hinder'd his taking the Town, and that the Knights would never surrender, so long as they had such a valiant and expert Commander, so that he thought the best and safest way was to make sure of him. This design of his he communicated to two *Renegado's*, who coming to the *Turks* Camp at the beginning of the Siege, had abjur'd

jur'd the Christian faith, and made a shew of much zeal for the *Mahometan* Sect. The one was a *Dalmatian*, the other of *Albania*. They had both of them acquaintance in *Rhodes*; and the *Albanese*, who was a crafty and intelligent person, was very well known to one of the Secretaries to the Grand Master, an *Italian*, whose name was *Philelpho*. The *Renegado's* themselves immediately offer'd to do the business, either by stab or poison. Though the Execution were both difficult and dangerous; but a wicked man may do any thing when he fears nothing.

At the time when the two Assassins were preparing to leave the Camp, *Aly Basha* arriv'd there from *Constantinople*. *Mahomet*, who began to be disturb'd at the Siege, had sent him expressly to advertize *Paleologus*, that he would come himself with a reinforcement of a hundred thousand men, and fifteen hundred Cannon of a prodigious bigness, Whether the advice were true or false the Infidels receiv'd it as an Oracle which assur'd

assur'd them of the victory. For the very name of *Mahomet* fill'd the Camp with joy, and inspir'd new heat into the Souldiers. This produc'd an effect quite contraty in the City. The *Renegado's* who got into the City one after another, that they might not seem to have any acquaintance one with another, were receiv'd as persons ransom'd out of Captivity; having given out that they unfortunately fell into the hands of the *Barbarians* in the second Sally. At their first admittance they reported, that *Mahomet* was coming with a formidable Army, and that all was lost, if they did not come to a Capitulation, before his arrival. Some of the *Italian* Knights who guarded the post on that side, and questionless were not the bravest of their Nation, were affrighted at the news. Some *Spanish* Knights also who took the Alarm upon the same noise joining with the *Italians*, caball'd together, and had private Conferences in the night time, the result whereof was that since they could not save *Rhodes*, they should

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at least save the honour of the *Rebels*, by making an advantageous Composition. The *Italians* who were the Captains of the Cabal, discover'd their design to *Philelpho*, in whom the Grand Master repos'd a great trust; and after they had made him of their party, they engag'd him to represent to the Grand Master, the necessity of yeilding to save the Island from the utmost miseries of War.

Philelphus was a person of Honour and Sincerity, but one that lov'd his Nation, and had too great an esteem for his Countrey-men, to think them guilty of any treachery. And therefore believing that the *Italians* meant well, and that acting with the *Spaniards*, they could not take any wrong or injurious courses, he not only undertook to speak, but acquitted himself of his promise.

So soon as the Grand Master understood by his Secretary what had past, he sent for the most factious before him,; and dissembling at first his indignation, he told them in some-

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what bitter language, that if they so much fear'd *Mahomet*, they should do well to get out of the way: that he gave them free liberty to be gone; and that they should have Gallies for their convenience. But then again, changing his tone, with a stern countenance, *But if you will stay with us*, added he, *never mention composition, and be assur'd, that if you continue your Cabals, I will hang ye up every Mothers Son.*

These words pronounc'd with so much authority, were like a thunder-stroke to the guilty. They acknowledg'd their fault, and seem'd so ashamed and sorry for it, that the Grand Master thought them severely enough punish'd; and thus mixing mildness with severity, and contented with their submissive penitence, he pardon'd them upon the spot. But the Knights, whom the goodness of the Grand Master had absolutely confounded, adjudging themselves unworthy of pardon after so unworthy an action, besought him not to pardon their fault till they had wash'd

it away with the blood of their enemies, and their own.

All this while the two Traytors laid their plots, and sought all means to execute their design; the *Albanese*, who knew that *Philephus*, who was no more entrusted with the knowledg of affairs, since the Cabal of the *Italians*, fail'd not to insinuate to him, that he had now nothing more to hope for in *Rhodes*; that credit with great men once lost, was seldom regain'd. That usually they to whom they had imparted their secrets, became hateful when once suspected: that the hatred of those who could revenge themselves, unpunish'd, is always to be fear'd; and that the safest way, was to suffer himself to be forestall'd.

There needed no more to a person so quick-witted as *Philepho*, to divine what was aim'd at: He had always look'd upon the *Albanese* as a fellow of no Religion or conscience, and this unexpected return did but augment the bad opinion which he had conceiv'd of him. For which

reason, he made no question but that this wicked wretch had been gain'd by the Infidels, and that he was return'd to *Rhodes* out of a design to do some mischief: However, the better to inform himself, he made semblance of giving ear to his arguments, and withal, hinted to him that he would be very ready to prevent his enemies, provided he might be well seconded. The Assassinate catching at this bait, frankly disclos'd himself; he declar'd the whole business to *Philelpho*, and having shew'd him the *Basha's* Letter to hasten the execution, he promis'd him as much as could tempt the ambition or interest of a man.

How great a thread soever *Philelpho* had of so horrible a crime, he consented to it in outward appearance. But so soon as he had taken his leave of him, he went and gave the Grand Master an account of what he had understood. Immediately the *Albanese* was seiz'd upon, who was already applauding himself for the success of his enterprise. He deny'd
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all at first with that boldness and confidence which is usual with Criminals. But soon after he confess'd all, touch'd either with remorse of conscience, or forc'd by the violence of his torments. The *Dalmatian*, who was introduc'd into the Grand Master's Palace by another means, and who had already corrupted one of the Officers of his Kitchen, was at the same time apprehended upon the confession of the *Albanese*. They were both executed at a time, and by the people cut in pieces, in abomination of the crime. Thus the Conspiracy fell upon the head of the Conspirators, by a secret conduct of Divine Justice, which oftentimes makes use of the same means to destroy the guilty, which they take to ensnare the innocent. *Philadelpho* was receiv'd into the favour of the Grand Master, and found by experience, that Fidelity contributes more than Treason, to the advancement of men.

Paleologus understanding the ill success of his plot, laid aside all other thoughts, but of carrying by force

what he could not win by treachery. To that purpose he began to raise a plat-form, upon that side where the besieged had made their intrenchments. But so soon as the Grand Master discover'd what the *Basha* intended, he commanded fifty men of the *French* and *Italian* Languages to fight the Labourers, and overturn the work in the night-time. The party commanded descended into the Moat through the casemates so privately in the night, and gain'd the upper-ground so privately with their ladders, that the *Turks* never perceiv'd them till they were just upon them. Which put the Infidels into such disorder, that they presently fled; the most part saving themselves by flight. The mutinous *Italians*, who were of the number of the fifty, and fought nothing more then to repair their honour, were the most forward to pursue them that fled, of which they kill'd ten with their own hands, and returning demolish'd the work, and nail'd their Cannon.

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The *Basha* was surpriz'd at so resolute an action: and being inform'd that they were the *French* and *Italians*, who had perform'd it, he could not forbear saying, that he had to do with people that inherited the courage of *Cæsar* and *Charlemain*. So much does true valour charm ev'n enemies themselves, how barbarous soever.

The Grand Master did not think it enough to applaud the Victors, but gave them rewards: And to testify to the *Italians*, that he had no more ill thoughts of them; he express himself publickly, that they were persons of Honour, and had kept their word.

The bad success which the *Turks* had upon this encounter, made them give over all thoughts of attacking the City upon the *Italian* Post: And therefore they resum'd their old design, and bent all their force against the Tower of *Sr. Nicholas*. Not only because that being almost ruin'd they thought it might be the more easily tak'n, but because they ima-

gin that there lay the decision of the Victory.

To that effect, the General of the *Barbarians* undertook to build a Woodd'n-Bridg that would hold six men a brest, which should reach from the Church of St. *Antony* to the foot of the Tower. They wrought without ceasing in the presence of the *Basha*, who assisted at the work himself. So soon as the Bridg was finish'd, a *Turk* having in the night secretly fasten'd an Anchor to the Rock of the Tower it self with a chain of Iron, thrust a Cable through the ring of the Anchor, to which the end of the Bridg was link'd ; so, by drawing the Cable by strength of arm, the Bridg, by degrees, might be hal'd to the very point of the Mole of St. *Nicholas*.

But the cunning of the *Turks* could not deceive the vigilance of the *Rhodians*. An English Marener, whose name was *Roger*, a bold and daring fellow, who discover'd what had past, threw himself into the Sea, when the *Turk* was retir'd ; and when he had
cunning-

cunningly unfasten'd the Anchor, he left the chain upon the Rock, as if it had still held: for which, the Grand Master immediately gave him two hunder'd Crowns in Gold. When the *Turks* began to draw the Cable, to move the Bridg forward, they soon perceiv'd that their stratagem was discover'd, and that the *Rhodians* were more subtil then they, though they were not altogether dishearten'd. For *Paleologus*, who manag'd the enterprize himself, and had a wit fertil for invention, sent for a great number of Barques to bear the Bridg upon the water, and to transport it insensibly to the Mole, as the Barques mov'd forwards. In the mean time he order'd, as well to attraque the Tower, as batter the Vessels that lay in the Port, thirty Galleys, besides several light Vessels, wherein he had put the choicest men in his Army, and who were to begin the assault, while the Souldiers landed.

The Grand Master omitted nothing that lay in his power. He set a thousand Pioneers at work, who labour'd day

day and night in cutting the Rock, to make the Moat wider, and deeper. After he had reinforc'd the Garrison with such Forces, as the *Escalle* had brought from *Verona* at the beginning of the Siege, he posted at the foot of the Mole a Squadron of *Spanish* and *German* Knights, to be succour'd from thence as occasion requir'd. But as he had reason to suspect lest one part of the enemy should attacque the City, while the other assaulted *St. Nicholas's* Fort, and that the *Jews* Wall would be the place, where their Cannon had already made several breaches; he sent thither a good number of Souldiers under the Conduct of the Knights *de Northolon*, with order not to sally without exprefs command. After that he prescrib'd to every one his particular duty in the Fort, yet doing nothing without mature deliberation and counsel. For he heard advice with calmness, and a quick apprehension, being perswaded that the most judicious do not see every thing, and that the wisest often mistake, when too much

much wedded to their own judgment.

That courtesy and affability which he shew'd to all the World, allow'd not only to the Knights, but also to the meanest Souldiers, the liberty of speaking their thoughts upon all occasions that presented themselves. He took delight to hear them, and sometimes he found in the discourse of a simple Souldier such expedients and stratagems, which perhaps he might not have thought of. Yet with all this lenity he was severe enough, when it behov'd him so to be. For two Souldiers of the Garrison of the Fort, having resolv'd to run away to the *Turks*, threw a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition into the Sea. They were taken in the act, and ashamed of themselves when they were discover'd. They also cray'd pardon of the Grand Master, and threw themselves at his feet, very penitent for what they had done. But notwithstanding all their prayers and entreaties, and all their penitence, he caus'd them to be hang'd out at the windows of the Tower,

and

and their bodies to be cast into the Sea.

The enemy was so much perplex'd that he had attack'd the Tower in the open day, that he resolv'd not to attacke it any more but by night. They also made their approaches very silently, contrary to their customs. But having gain'd the Mole, and being landed, they presently open'd their throats. The choice party of the *Turks* assail'd the Tower where it was most ruin'd, making a most hideous noise, which was follow'd with the sound of Trumpets and other Warlike Instruments.

The Christians, who were all up on their Guards, and expected their enemies with an undaunted resolution, vigorously sustain'd the Shock. They fought on both sides with an equal ardor, without any other light, then that of the Granado's and Fire-pots, that flew continually from side to side; so that there was a great slaughter in a short time.

In the mean time the Galleys being come up close to the Rock, and the Wood'n

Wood'n bridg being fix'd to the point of the Rock, by the assistance of the Barks, a multitude almost innumerable of the *Turks* gave the assault on that sight where the Gross of the Wall was fall'n down. The discharges that were made so thick upon them, brake their first effort, and threw headlong a good number of them that were already got up. The rest were repuls'd by the Knights that defended that part; and there it was to be seen, how sometimes valour might prevail against number. The Grand Master who was every where, encourag'd the Knights, and confidently assur'd them of victory provided they themselves would but do their best to overcome.

While the heat of the Combat encreas'd, the Batteries which the Grand Master had planted against the bridg, took that effect as was expected. For the Bridg was cut in pieces at the same time when a reinforcement of Soldiers was upon it; who all perish'd miserably, being neither to be reliev'd by the Barks, nor able to save themselves

selves by swimming, under a Shower of Stones and Arrows that follow'd the discharges of the Artillery.

The Enemies Gallies ceas'd not to batter the Tower of *St. Nicholas*; and to tire the Knights. But they resum'd new vigour when they perceiv'd that the Bridg was broken, and that the Assailents could no longer be that way reliev'd, and that which more encreas'd their resolution was, that the Artillery of the Tower had sunk four Gallies with several Ships of War; and that the Fire-Ships sent against the rest, had dismay'd and disorder'd the whole Fleet.

This However did not hinder the Infidels from being obstinate in their assault; for despair sometimes instead of abating, raises courage. Both sides fell on again without remorse, and the Combat which had already lasted three hours, began again with more violence then ever. The day which soon after appear'd did but serve to irretate the Combatants, while it discover'd the Massacre in the Night. The sight of so many
Bodies

Bodies stretch'd upon the Harth, or
 floating upon the Sea, with the ruines
 of the Bridg and Gallies incited the
 Infidels to repair their Honour, and
 the Christians to maintain their ad-
 vantages. Both sides perform'd as
 much as men of Bravery could act
 upon such occasions; the loss was
 great upon the *Turks* side; and their
 most considerable Commanders lay
 dead upon the place; among the rest,
Mahomets Son-in-law, a young Prince,
 very valiant and very dear to the
 Grand Signior. He stood a long time
 firm upon the ruins of the Tower,
 and kill'd several Knights with his own
 hand, fortifying himself with heaps
 of dead bodies. But having receiv'd
 several wounds, he fell as he was ma-
 king a blow with his Scimitar, and
 expir'd in a moment after. The death
 of *Ibrahim* allay'd the heat of the
Barbarians; they gave ground, mau-
 ger all the resolution of their Gene-
 ral, who exhorted them to revenge
 the death of the Grand Signior, and
 with his own hand kill'd some of
 those that receiv'd. But the Knights re-

repell'd, and forc'd them at length to retire. This dishonourable retreat put *Paleologus* into a profound fit of sadness. When he was return'd to his Camp, he shut him self up, and there kept himself three whole days together without giving audience to any person; either to conceal his grief, or to meditate at leisure what farther course to take.

Now in regard the *Turks* had lost above two thousand five hundred men in these assaults; because the dead bodies, which either cover'd the Earth, or else were wash'd upon the Shoar by the Sea, were enough to corrupt the Air, the Grand Master caus'd all the shoar to be cleans'd, with a particular care of his own Souldiers. And after he had caus'd the Bodies to be enter'd with all the honour that the present state of affairs would permit. He himself look'd after the dressing of the Wounded; he visited them every foot, and distributed among them with his own hands the rich spoils of the slain. And indeed the lying still of the Enemy, while their
General

General lock'd himself up, gave the Grand Master leisure to attend these particular duties of a Great Commander.

At length the *Basha* appear'd abroad, and forgetting in some measure the dishonour which had occasion'd his recess, he resum'd his usual heat and fury. However he laid aside all thoughts of attempting any thing upon St. *Nicholas* Tower, which now he began to think impregnable, bending his whole design to reduce the City, by dividing the Forces of the besieged, believing he should accomplish his work, by assailing it in several quarters at once. He persuaded himself, that when the Walls should be ruin'd in other places, as they were in the *Jews* quarter, and the *Italian* Post, that by a general assault, he should not fail to enter the place; and that the besieged would be constrain'd to surrender, when they were no longer able to resist. Moreover he made no question, but that the *German* Engineer, upon whom he still depended, would at length find

a way to serve him, wherein lay the chiefest of his hopes.

Thereupon by his order, the best Pieces of Artillery were planted round about the City; and while they thunder'd upon the Walls, the *Turks*, animated by the presence of their General, on the one side set themselves to undermine their way through the Earth, to make themselves Trenches cover'd with Planks and Bayns to bring their men securely into the Moat. Then they rais'd Plat-forms supported with Hurdles and Boughs of Trees and pallisado'd round, upon which they planted *Culverins*, and other small shot equal with the Valls and Bastions of the City, which fire without ceasing.

But in regard they design'd to give the assault principally upon the *Jews VVal*, where the Batteries had done most mischief, after they got into the Moat, by such passages as they had min'd under ground, they endeavour'd, by means of the noise and smoak which hinder'd the besieged from hearing or seeing them, to fill up

up the Moat with the Rubbish which the Cannon had loosen'd from the Wall, which being throwa together by hazard, made a kind of a slope ascent. In this they labour'd with so much vigor, and success, that notwithstanding all the firing from the City, that in a short time the Moat was fill'd up almost as high as the Ravelin on Bastion of the *Jews*, so that they might easily get up to the Wall.

The Grand Master, who husbanded his men against the Assault, finding that the principal Batteries of the City did little good, and that the Enemies advanc'd every day without receiving any great damage, caus'd an extraordinary Engine to play, which was made to cast Stones of great weight at a great distance, which Engine was call'd the Tribute, because it was made in the time that *Mahomet* demanded a Tribute from the Knights. This Engine plac'd just opposite to the *Turks* place of working, wrought wonderful effects. For the huge pieces of Marble which it throw with an unspeakable violence, not only crush'd to pieces the

Work-men upon the *Terrasses*, but in several places broke into their Mines, and their cover'd Trenches, so that an infinite number of *Turks* were stifi'd in the Earth, and buried in the Ruins of their own works.

The *Rhodians* shouted every time the Engin play'd, and when they saw the Stones fly, they cry'd, *that was Mahomet's Tribute*. The Grand Master took the cheerfulness of his Souldiers, for a good Omen. And though he were not a little troubl'd at the last advance of the Enemy, yet by his familiarity with the Souldiery, he engag'd them to cleanse the Moat which the Turk had fill'd up, and to mine a way under the Walls to get in, that they might not expose themselves to the Shot of the Enemy.

The Souldiers in that good humour cheerfully obey'd the Grand Master; they min'd a hole into the Moat, and by degrees drew in all the Stones into the City, together with the other Rubbish that had fill'd up the Moat; the Grand Master being present all this while to encourage the Labourers. And finding that part

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of the *Jews* Walls where the Enemies Cannon had plaid hottest, was ready to fall, he terrass'd it with all speed, and rais'd a new Wall to support the Earth which was not well settl'd.

To this part the Grand Master order'd great Fats of Flint Stones, and old pieces of Iron, Sacks of Sulphur, and Powder, Caldrons of boiling Oil, and whatever was proper to stop the fury of the *Turks* when they gave the assault. But besides all this, he was desirous to know of the *German* Engineer, what other Invention he could think of to repel the Enemy, or what new work was to be rais'd should they force the Defences which were already rais'd. The *German* seem'd surpriz'd to hear himself ask'd so many questions, and coldly answer'd, that he would consider of it, and that for the security of the place, it was requisite he should make use of all the Secrets of his Art. But as he was already suspected, and for that a Battery which he had already rais'd in the presence of the Grand Master, had tak'n no effect, suspicions began to arise that he did not act

forc'd to raise the Siege; He added, that this had not been the first City which he had betray'd in this manner, and that his conscience accus'd him for the murther of an infinite number of Christians. These confessions were enough for his condemnation, without any other evidence, so that he was hang'd in the publick Market-place of the City. This execution was soon spread in the Camp of the *Turks*; for the Grand Master inform'd them himself by Arrows shot over the Wall, after their example. Which he did, the rather to let them understand how ill success their Spies had at *Rhodes*, and that he had follow'd the *Turks* advice.

It is not to be believ'd how extremely the *Basha* was afflicted for the death of this Traytor. He had almost no other hopes left but in him since his last misfortune; for he was half assur'd, that the intregues of a wit so crafty as his, could not fail him at last. However, he would not suffer himself to be altogether dishearten'd, though before he resolv'd

upon a general assault, he was resolv'd to try the most gentle means he could.

To this purpose, after he had shor in several Letters into the City, aggravating, and extolling the power of the *Ottoman* Empire; he advertiz'd the people, that the Grand Signior intended no ill to the *Rhodians*; that he had only made the War to deliver them from an unjust and tyrannical Government; that being *Greeks*, they ought naturally to obey the Emperor of the *Rhoaians*, and that they would never be at quier so long as they continu'd enemies to the *Ottoman* Court. He promis'd them, if they would surrender, not only their lives and liberties, but also all sorts of Immunities and Honours. At length he declar'd to them, that if they refus'd such advantageous proffers, they must expect to be all put to the Sword. That the Invincible *Mahomet* was resolv'd to drain his Empire of all its Forces, to take *Rhodes*; that he was marching thither with all speed; and that there would

would be no capitulations thought of when his Highness arriv'd.

This Letter wrought no impression upon their resolutions. The wiser sort laugh'd at them; the meanest capacities took them only for pieces of craft and falsity. They all condemn'd and scorn'd the change which he propos'd; and so far they were from dreaming of a submission to the Grand Signior, that they made new protestations of fidelity to the Grand Master: So that nothing more contributed to retain the Prince in their obedience, and to redouble their affection to their lawful Prince, then the subtilty which was us'd to corrupt and gain them to a revolt.

The *Basha* finding no effect of his Letters, to which they would not so much as vouchsafe an answer, took another way to obtain an answer. A ranagate *Greek* presented himself that night, by his order, before the Walls of the City; and calling to the Centinels with a loud voice, he told the Knights that appear'd, that the General of the *Ottoman* Army was de-

desirous to send an Ambassador to the Ottoman Army, provided he might have the liberty to go and come with safety. Answer was return'd to the *Renegado*, that the law of Nations was inviolably observ'd at *Rhodes*; that the Ambassadors had no reason to fear any thing, and that he might come to the *Jews Moat*; and that he should find in the Bulwark of the Tower, a Knight, that should return him an answer in the name of the Grand Master.

An ancient *Bey*, whose name was *Solyman*, appear'd the next morning just against the Bulwark. He was a prudent man, and besides his experience, had excellent natural parts. After he had civilly saluted the Knight, who was deputed by the Grand Master to give him audience, he began to tell him, that the *Basha*, *Paleologus*, wonder'd, that being so much frighten'd, and not receiving any relief, they should still so obstinately defend themselves. He added, that for his part, he wonder'd that persons so wise as they, should so per-

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tinaciously seek their own ruine. That they ought to remember *Constantinople*, *Trebisond*, *Negropont*, *Metelin*, and others, far stronger places than *Rhodes*, which could not hold out against *Mahomet*; that Prudence ought to regulate Valour: and that it was a folly to pretend to resist the Conqueror of two Empires, twelve Kingdoms, and three hundred Cities. True it was, that it was an honour for him to defend his Countrey; but that it was better for him to preserve it entire, by submitting to the stranger, than to ruine himself out of a blind and unadvised ingenuity; and therefore it was but common prudence for him to agree with *Mahomet*: That his Favourite, *Missack Paleologus*, offer'd to manage the accommodation himself, and so to order it, that they should have no reason to complain; and lastly, that it was the only means to save their Reputation and Estates. He concluded his Harang in a lively and perswasive manner, conjuring him to have pitty upon the people, and not to be the

the causes of the massacre of so many poor creatures, the dishonour of their Daughters and Wives, and the succage of the whole Island.

The Grand Master being inform'd of *Solyman's* propositions, did no less wonder at the *Basha's* Ambassador, then the *Basha* wonder'd at their resistance. That they could not apprehend that he had any compassion or tenderness for them, which he endeavour'd to destroy by all means imaginable. That Peace was not treated on with sword and poison; and that the treasons discover'd, made them suspicious of new ones: That they very well remember'd that *Trebisond*, *Constantinople*, *Negropont*, and so many other Towns, could not resist the power of *Mahomet*; but they remember'd as well, that he was a Conqueror: that seldom kept his word; and that contrary to the public Faith given, he had put to death *David Commenius*, with all his children, not to speak of the Princes of *Bosnia* and *Metelin*.

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The Knight, who spoke in the name of the Grand Master, added haughtily, that the *Soldan* of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, no less potent then the Emperor of the *Turks*, had often attempted *Rhodes*, without getting any thing but shame; that the *Rhodians* hop'd that their entrenchments would prove the tombs of the *Ottoman* Army; and that they would rather perish in the ruines of their own Countrey then, then deliver it up to the enemies of the Christian Faith. And lastly, that neither the threats nor promises of *Mahomet* were sufficient to force them to any thing which might either be against their profession, or blast their honour. After this, the Knight added, that when the Army of the Infidels was return'd to *Constantinople*, the Emperor might send an Embassador to *Rhodes*, and that then the Grand Master would consider what was most honourable and advantageous for the Order; but that so long as such an Army remain'd about the City, he could not heark'n to Peace. That the *Ottoman*

Troops

Troops might do like declar'd Enemies, but that for his part, he hop'd by the assistance of Heaven to let his General know that the Knights of *Rhodes* were not so soon conquer'd as other Nations.

This generous and haughty answer quite disappointed all the *Basha's* designs. Shame, Honour, Despair, Fury rais'd in his Soul those Opposite motions, as almost put him besides himself. Fury at length got the upper hand, and the *Barbarian* abandoning himself to all the thoughts that rage could inspire, after he had excited his Souldiers to punish the pride of those that brav'd the sovereign power of the *Ottomans*, he commanded all the Engines to be set at work, and that they should batter the City night and day without ceasing. Never were orders better executed; for the *Turks* enliven'd by the fury of the *Basha*, and transported at the same time with a desire of Victory and revenge, in a small time made above three thousand five hundred Shot, which brought the Towers

Towers and Walls almost down to the Ground. Yet neither did this af- fright the *Rhodians*. For the Grand Master went up and down to hearten the Inhabitants and encourage the Souldiers. His confidence in God increas'd his natural Constancy, and spread in his Countenance a serene Air, which prov'd a happy success.

When he thought the Enemy was ready to give the assault, he plac'd at the most dangerous place, strong Squadrons of Cavalry, under the most skilful Commanders which he chose himself. He retain'd near his own person, the *French* Gentlemen who had follow'd the Count of *Monteil* to *Rhodes*; and plac'd himself with them near the Jews quarter; from whence he might relieve all parts as need requir'd. But because he repos'd all his hopes in the protection of Heaven, he first went and prostrated himself at the feet of the Altars, re- commending to God the safety of *Rhodes*, and commanding prayers to be continually said in all the Churches of the City.

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In the mean time the *Basha* encourag'd by the Havock which his Artillery had made, after he had flatter'd his men with their Martial virtue, and had perswaded them that they had nothing more now to take then Ruines without defence, he openly declar'd to them that they should freely have the pillage of the Town. He commanded them to put all to the Sword, except the young Infants, whom he permitted them to preserve either for their own benefit, or the Grand Signiors Militia. He ordain'd also that all the men that should escape the Sword of the Musfel men, should be empal'd, to which purpose he set upright a thousand Stakes in the Field.

The *Turks* reviv'd anew by this apparent facility of the enterprize, and the hope of plunder, with impatience expected the hour of assault with their Arms in their hands, and Chains about their waists, to bind those that they should not kill. Nor could the *Basha* hardly retain them one day more, that he shot continually at the Town to level the Fortifications of the Besieged.

At length the 27th of July, he gave the signal just at break of day, by the shooting of a Mortar piece. Immediately the *Ottoman* Army ran furiously on, invoking the name of their false Prophet, and assail'd the City on every side with most dreadful shouts and yells, that made all the Sea-shoar, and all the Hills to ring again. Nevertheless the main onset was giv'n to the *Jews* Wall, where the Ruines, which had fill'd up the Ditch again, made the way easy. Then an innumerable multitude mounted the Walls, and fell on with that fury, that the Christians who kept the Walls, were quite overlaid with number, and almost all slain. The Turks puft up with this success, drove back the rest, and set up seven of their colours upon the walls, before the Christians could get up upon a slope, made with the Ruins of the Wall on their side. The Knights and Souldiers that first ascended fell upon the *Turks* with such a fury that they forc'd them to retire. But the *Turks* being presently reinforced, both parties disputed a long
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time for the Wall; they on both sides with great heat and courage. But when the Combat grew hot, and that the victory seem'd to encline to the Infidels, the Count of Monteb came into the assistance of the Christians; but notwithstanding all the effects of their valour, they could not drive back their Enemies; whom the presence of the *Bajba* made undaunted, and not being able to withstand so great a number as fell upon them. (18)

In the mean time the report which was spread that the Enemy had carry'd the *Jews Quarter*; struck terror and confusion every where. But so soon as the Grand Master saw this beginning of a Rout, with a half pike in his hand, he mounted the Wall, having already kill'd some that were got down, and considering that the loss of all depended upon this post, he resolv'd to hazard all, or regain it. The old Commanders and young Knights that were near to his person, mounted after; at what time the Grand Master breaking into a thick Bat-

Battalion of the *Turks*, with an astonishing fury, charg'd them so rudely, that they were soon clear'd off.

No sooner was it known to what danger the Grand Master had expos'd himself, but the Burgesses of the Town ran with all speed to disingage him, or to dye with him. The Women also who were for the most part habited in mens apparel, appear'd upon the Ramparts to terrify the Assailants, follow'd their husbands, and pouring down scalding Oil, Flints, and old Iron upon the *Turks*; while others were so hardy as to throw Wild fire, and others to take up the Arms of the Slain, and fight in their steads they did very good service. On the other side the Archers which the Grand Master had plac'd in such parts of the Wall which the Cannon had a little spar'd; shot continually upon those that came with fresh recruits.

The *Barbarians* fell in great heaps every where, yet dearly selling their lives, but more especially making a great slaughter about the Grand Master. But the present Image of death

redoubl'd his zeal, and no way diminish'd his valour. *Let us dye, my dear Brethren*, said he, *rather then retire, 'tis for the faith, 'tis for heaven that we fight, our death shall be honour'd among men, and precious in the sight of God.* His example, and his words, so encourag'd the Souldiers, that mauer the obstinate resistance of the enemy, they regain'd the Field, and made themselves absolute Masters of it, after a dispute of two hours. The Knight *de Montholon*, being the first that tore up the *Ottoman* Banners, and flung them to the ground.

As much affrighted as the *Barbarians* seem'd, and as much wearied as they were indeed, shame or honour caus'd them to return to the Charge; and the *Basha* drew out a Body of old *Janizaries* to second the assault. Now, in regard the Grand Master was known by his gilded Arms, and the throng of remarkable persons that environ'd him; the *Basha* commanded that they should pick him out particularly. These
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fresh men threw themselves, like beasts of prey, upon the Christians; & having forc'd their way through the Pikes and Swords, were making directly to the Grand Master, if the Vicount of *Monteil*, who saw them coming, had not put a stop to them; who flew upon them with the most valiant of the *Auvernian* Post: In the mean time ten or twelve of the boldest of the *Turks* joyning with those that were at handy-strokes with the Grand Master, they laid at him with several blows; so that his arms being broken, he receiv'd five wounds: however, he fought still very valiantly. But the Knights perceiving he was wounded, fell on so furiously, that the enemy first began to give ground; and lastly, to betake them to their heels.

As for the *Turks* who were got upon the Posts of the other Languages, where they found equal resistance; so soon as they saw the *Jews* Wall forsaken, they quitted their attaques, and fled in the greatest disorder in the World: except three
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hunder'd of the stoutest, who staid upon the Walls, and being no longer able to defend themselves, fell half dead into the City, where they were massacred by the people.

At the same time the *Rhodians* issu'd out after them in throngs, and pursu'd them to their very Camp, making a most fatal slaughter among them. The *Turks* also kill'd one another to make room for themselves; so much they dreaded to fall into the hands of the Christians. The *Basha* did all he could by threats and promises to stay their flight; their fear would not let them take notice of either, and he was at length constrain'd to fly to the shore, that he might be near his Gallies.

Khodgia Afendy, who has wrote in the *Turkish* Language the Siege of *Rhodes*, attributes the rout of the Infidels to the avarice of their General: For he says, that the Souldiers, more covetous of booty then blood, being ready to enter the Town, and preparing themselves to plunder, where they hop'd to find great riches;

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the *Basha*, to preserve the whole for himself, caus'd proclamation to be made, that the treasure of *Rhodes* was the demerit of the *Ottoman* Court, and that the generous *Massabmen* were to seek nothing more in fight than the honour of serving the Emperor; however, he would not fail to recompence those that should do their duty, as he would punish those that should take the least rag. The Historian adds, that this Proclamation so cool'd the courage of the Soldiers, that they thought of nothing after that, but how to save their lives. But we may easily conjecture, by the examination of his words, that he does not speak truth according to the manner of the *Turks*, who make no scruple of lying, when it is either to excuse and cover the cowardice, or dishonour of their Nation. For it has been the custom of the *Ottoman* Emperors, and their *Basha's*, always to abandon such Towns as were taken by assault to the plunder of the Soldiers: So that it is not likely that *Patriologus*, who us'd all the means

he could, to make himself Master of the place; and who was naturally magnificent, should of a sudden take to a course so contrary to his design and humour.

In the mean time the Grand Master, who felt himself very much weaken'd by his wounds, return'd into the City all bloody; after whom follow'd the victorious Knights with the Imperial Standard, which they had tak'n from before the Pavilion of the *Basha*: but the condition of their Prince put them into such a consternation, that they could not rejoyce for their Victory. One of his wounds was accounted mortal, and the second day they began to despair of his life.

So soon as the *Basha* had recover'd the Sea-shore with the remains of his Army, he never stood to consult whether he should raise the Siege or no. Whatever confidence he had had till then, in the fortune of *Mahomet* and his own, he despair'd to take the place after so many vain assaults; and understanding that he had lost above
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nine thousand men slain out-right, and above fifteen thousand wounded, which were not in the fight; he took care of nothing more, then how to save the rest by retiring.

While the *Turks* were imbarquing their Engines of War, and all their Baggage, there appear'd two great Ships, which *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, had sent to the relief of *Rhodes*. *Paleologus*, who saw them making to the Port with full sail, considering what a shame it would be to let them enter the Port, shot at them with such pieces of Artillery, as were not imbarqu'd; not being able to assault them with his Galleys, because the winds were contrary. The shot brought one of the Masts of one of the Ships by the board, but did the other no harm. But the wind changing, and the Sea growing rough of a sudden, they both came to an Anchor just against the Port, till the tempest forc'd them to make all the sail they could to get in. The Ship, whose Mast was broken, was the more fortunate, and steer'd so well, that she easily

got in. The other being carri'd off by storm, fell back into the road ; so that she was the next day very near the Infidels Fleet. The *Basha*, unwilling to let go a prize that he thought in his hands, sent out twenty Galleys to seize her ; and commanded the Captain of the Galleys to go himself. The Christians prepare themselves for fight. The twenty Galleys surround the Vessel, and thunder upon her on every side ; and by an incredible kindness of divine protection, did them much more mischief than she receiv'd her self. However, some that were best mann'd fetch'd her up by the strength of their oars ; and having grappl'd her, a whole throng of *Barbarians* endeavour'd to enter upon all her quarters. But the *Spaniards* and *Italians* kept their ground with so much resolution, that after a bloody Fight of three hours, the *Turks* were constrain'd to give way : and the death of the General of the Galleys so abated their courage, that they wholly forsook the Vessel.

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Then it was, that *Misach Paleologus*, being out of all hope, and fearing all the worst of fortune, gave order to weigh Anchor, and be gone. And that which hasten'd his departure, was, that he understood by his Spies, that the Christians expected a very considerable relief, and that the Vessels of *Ferdinand* were but the fore-runners of the Christian Prince's Fleet. So that the *Ottoman* Fleet put out to Sea the 18th of *August*, and steer'd toward the Port of *Fisco*; where having set the Army a-shore, they continu'd their course toward *Constantinople*.

The Victorious Ship enter'd the Port of *Rhodes* almost at the same that the *Ottoman* Fleet set sail. And now it is no difficult thing to apprehend the joy of the *Rhodians*, to see themselves so well deliver'd, after a siege of sixty days. The whole Port resounded with shouts of gladness: and the noise of the Bells, mix'd with that of the Trumpets, made a pleasing harmony, which proclaim'd the raising of the Siege to all the people
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of the Island. But that which most contributes to the publick rejoycing, was, that the Grand Master began to recover; whether the Chirurgeons were deceiv'd in their judgments, or that the wound, which they deem'd to be mortal, were not so indeed; or whether there were something divine and miraculous in the cure. However, in that languishing estate, wherein as yet he continu'd, he commanded solemn Processions to be made for three days; and that Masses should be said in all the Churches of the City, for the souls of the Knights and Souldiers that had been slain during the Siege.

So soon as he was cur'd of his wounds, and that he had strength enough to walk, he went himself to return thanks to God at the feet of the Altars. And because he was perswaded that the protection of the Virgin had sav'd *Rhodes*, he made a Vow to build a magnificent Church, by the name of *St. Maries* of the Victory, neer the *Jews* Wall, where the *Turks* were put to the rout. Nor did

did he delay the execution of his vows ; for being somewhat better settl'd in his health, he caus'd himself to be carri'd to the place, and order'd the foundations to be laid in his presence. They labour'd might and main at this great work, so soon as the fortifications of the Town were repair'd. And because the Victory was won upon the day wherein the *Greeks* solemnize the Festival of St. *Pantaleon*, the Grand Master built a sumptuous Chappel for the exercise of the *Grecian* Ceremonies, in honour of that holy Martyr; to the end that the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, celebrating at the same time the holy Mysteries, they might return thanks both together, in both Churches, for so renown'd a Victory.

Nor was his devotion enclos'd within the Walls of *Rhodes*. He founded a perpetual Mass every week at the great Altar of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*; to preserve until the end of time, the memory of so happy a success, and in some measure to make
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an immortal acknowledgment thereof, in the same place where the Order of *St. John* had its first Institution.

But because, that having implor'd the aid of *St. John Baptist*, when he sall'y'd to the Combat, he found in his Souldiers, and in himself, a new courage, which could not spring but from above; he resolv'd to build a Church in *Italy*, in Honour of the happy Precursor, whose body *Julian* the Apostate caus'd to be burnt, and whose precious ashes lye in the Cathedral Church of *St. Lawrence* at *Genoa*.

This Structure time brought to perfection; and it was built neer to the Chappel, where those holy Reliques are expos'd to the veneration of the people. To which, that he might do the greater Honour, he also built a Convent neer to the said Chappel, for twelve religious persons of the Order, to sing Divine Service, to say Masses for the propagation of the Faith, for the Benefactors of the Order, and the Souls of the Grand
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Masters deccas'd : to which end he employ'd the Revenue of several Commanderies, and his own, according to the power which he had receiv'd from the See of *Rome*.

He wrote at the same time to the Princes of Christendom, to give them advice of the Victory, and to engage them to send him relief, in case the *Turks* should make any new attempts, and that the Knights should be constrain'd to hold out another Siege. But because that *Ferdinand's* Ships had brought him a Brief from *Sixtus*, which Brief contain'd such expressions, as testifi'd how much the Pope did interest himself in the affairs of *Rhodes*, he sent to *Rome* the Prior of *Capua*, and the Commander of *Aliaga*, with the Title of Embassadors Extraordinary. He charg'd them also in their way, to wait upon the King of *Naples*, and to tell him how much the Knights were oblig'd to him for his aid. That in his own particular, he highly acknowledg'd his Favour;
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and as long as he liv'd, should seek all occasions to testify his gratitude. Nor was the Grand Master thus contented to declare his obligations to *Ferdinand*; he also gave substantial marks of it to *Lewis Palafox*, a Gentleman of *Aragon*, and Captain of the Ship, which had so valiantly defended the Tower of *St. Nicholas*, and the *Jews Wall*. For besides that, he presented him with a Diamond of a very great price; and made his natural Son a Knight, as being a young Gentleman of great hopes and merit. He permitted him to carry in chief, above the Arms of his Family, the Arms of the Order, as an authentick proof of the Services which he and his had done, during the Siege.

He also granted other considerable Favours both to the Knights and Souldiers, which had most signaliz'd themselves: And because the Countrey was utterly laid wast; and for that the miseries of the people were not ended with the War,

War, he caus'd Corn to be distributed to the Islanders in great plenty; and discharg'd them for several years of all sorts of Taxes.

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THE
HISTORY
OF

Peter D'Aubuffon,

Grand Master of

R H O D E S.

Book Fourth.

THE *Ottoman* Fleet carri'd the news of their own misfortune home themselves to *Constantinople*. And *Mahomet* was as deeply sensible of this misfortune, as a wise and ambitious Prince possibly could be, who had not prosper'd in an honourable Enterprize, which he undertook not

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but upon great consideration. Though he were a great Master of himself, and one that could dissemble his particular anguish of mind; yet upon the sight of the principal Captains of the Army, and in that transportment, he was about to have put them all to death. The *Basba, Misach Paleogo*, his favourite, presum'd to tell him with that freedom which his favour allow'd him, that they had nothing to accuse him either for his conduct or his courage; and that the *Mussub-men* had done as much as men could do. He was glad to tell him withal, that the Knights of *Rhodes* were men of an extraordinary valour; and that there appear'd in the Air a bright-shining Troop, whose blows neither the *Turks* could shun, nor abide their looks. But all these reasons gave the Grand Signior no satisfaction. He drove his Favourite out of his sight, and was so far from giving him the Vest of Honour, which he was wont to bestow upon his Generals and Visiers, at their returns from military Expeditions, that he

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commanded him to retire to the *Sungiacatsbip* of *Gallipoli*. Nor indeed had *Mahomet* any other way to cheer up himself for this misfortune, but by believing that the conquest of *Rhodes* was reserv'd to him alone, and that it belong'd only to him to tame the Knights, and their Grand Master.

They were soon inform'd at *Rhodes* of the preparations which were made at *Constantinople* for a new Expedition; nor was the Grand Master idle in preparing to receive them.

But while the *Rhodians* were repairing the defences of their City, there happen'd extraordinary accidents which chang'd the whole course of their proceedings. A little while after the Fleet of the *Turks* was departed, there was heard over the whole Isle a kind of subterranean noise, like to that of thunder that begins to grumble in a cloud. This was a prognostication of those Earthquakes with which the Island was terrifi'd for many months. The most firm foundations of the City were shak'n by the first shogs, and almost

over-turn'd by the second shakings, which happen'd one after another; and which many times did not give over, but only to begin again with greater force.

The half of the Fort of St. Nicholas tumbl'd down one night, and the ruines of the Tower overwhelm'd most part of the Souldiers in the Tower. As the exhalation that caus'd these motions grew to be more and more enrag'd by the attempts which it made to get loose out of the caverns wherein it was enclos'd, the Earth-quake increas'd every day. The Earth rear'd it self up, and violently bounded forward in some places; it clef and open'd in others. Nothing but ruine and abysses appear'd every where; nothing was heard but the cries of affrighted people, that run up and down to save themselves, and yet no where found security. In short, it seem'd that the Island of *Rhodes*, which some believ'd was produc'd out of the Sea, to make the Earth tremble; was now just ready to perish by the same accident

cident for which it was created.

To add to their affliction, these tremblings of the Earth were accompanied with such prodigious and impetuous showers of rain, as if a second deluge had been come to overflow the World. Besides all this, the Sea swell'd ten foot high; and having surpass'd its bounds, over-run the City with such an impetuosity and noise, as if it came to swallow it up. The *Rhodians* believ'd themselves lost, when they beheld how the very Elements conspir'd their ruine, at a time as they were threaten'd again with the whole force of the *Turks*. Nay, the Grand Master himself would have had much ado perhaps to have sustain'd himself with his natural constancy, had not his confidence in God fortifi'd him against so many calamities. Upon this Christian confidence it was, that he was often heard to say, like *Moses* and *David*. *The God of Battel is our fortress; when I walk in the midd'st of the shadow of death, I will fear none ill; because, thou Lord, art with me.*

He exhorted all the people to take heart, but all his exhortations, signifi'd little; for the people sensible of what they felt, abandon'd themselves to those impressions which such sort of calamities produce. And that which encreas'd the publick consternation, was, that about that time *Mahomet* was set out of *Constantinople* at the head of three hunder'd thousand men, resolv'd to conquer *Italy* or *Egypt*, so soon as he had conquer'd *Rhodes*. He cross'd the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and took his way for *Bithynia*; with a design to cross all *Asia* the less, and to come to the Port of *Lycia* before the Knights should know of his march. But Heaven is pleas'd sometimes at one blow to bring down the pride of the Grandees of the Earth. This proud Prince, who thought upon nothing but new conquests, was taken away by a violent Cholick in the midd'ft of his Army, neer to *Nicomedia*. He was three and fifty years old; so vigorous, that he endur'd all the travels and labours of War without

out any detriment to his health ; the anguish that perplex'd him for raising the Siege of *Rhodes* did not a little contribute to his death. He always appear'd melancholly after that misfortune ; and upon the very naming the word Grand Master, he fell into such dull fits as made him insupportable to himself. *William Caoursin*, who liv'd at that time, and was Vice-Chancellor of *Rhodes*, makes him to dye after a very strange manner. For he reports in his memoirs, that *Mahomet* passing thorough a Forrest of *Bithynia*, a young Man clad in white, of a shape something more then Human, presented himself before him, with a visage burning with anger, and a flaming Sword in his hand, who after he had beheld him with a fiery and menacing eye, *Most impious among men*, said he, *I will run thee thorough with this Sword*. At which words *Mahomet* fell trembling from his Horse, as if he had been struck with a Thunder-bolt. That at the same time he suffer'd most bitter torments, which caus'd him to cry out
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most dreadfully, and that soon after he died, blaspheming the name of Jesus, and cursing the *Rhodians*. Whether the Apparition were true or no, certain it is, that this Enemy of the Cross dy'd the same day that the Church celebrates the festival of the finding the Holy Cross, and that as he was expiring, he several times utter'd the word *Rhodes*, and commanded, in the extremity of his pangs, that this Inscription should be written over his Tomb. *My design was to have taken Rhodes and subdued Italy.*

The death of the *Ottoman* Emperor was the safety of Christendome, and particularly of the *Rhodian* Territories. So that when the Grand Master heard the news, he gave thanks in publick to Heaven, that the Order was deliver'd from so powerful an adversary.

But that which more increas'd the joy of the Knights was this, that the City of *Otrantum* was retaken from the *Turks* in *Puglia*, so soon as the death of *Mahomet* was known. *Ach-*
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mat Basba, one of the greatest men of the Empire, had made himself Master of this City the year before; and had left a strong Garrison therein, and settl'd it in a condition not to be assaulted. The taking of *Otrantum* made all *Italy* shake. And the vigorous holding out of the *Turks* against the *Neapolitans* that besieg'd it, began to make *Rome* sensible of her danger; but when the besieged understood the death of the Grand Signior, their courages fail'd them; and they surrendred to the Duke of *Calabria*, Son to the King of *Naples*, not staying for the succour of five and twenty thousand men which *Achmat* was bringing himself. These Tydings were acceptable to the Church; and then it was that the *Rhodians* began to take breath after such a series of misfortunes. The Earth grew steady, and the Sea retir'd, so that they had the liberty to repair all the ruins of the City. But as the corruption of manners usually proceeds from the disorders of War, the Grand Master undertook a reformation of the

the Knights and people. To that end he made severe Laws against those vices that wound Christian Piety, and civil society, upon which account he forbade all manner of unlawful Games. These Laws were publickly proclaimed, and what was thought almost incredible, as readily obey'd; but a Sovereign finds no great trouble to make his Subjects obey him when he commands nothing but what he practises himself.

While all things were calm at *Rhodes*; the two parties that strove to succeed in the *Ottoman* Empire, put all *Turkey* into a confusion. *Mahomet* at his death left two Sons behind him, *Bajazet* and *Zizim*, for *Mustapha* their elder brother was put to death by the command of his Father, That young *Sultan*, who who was both stout and valiant, and had not long before won a very signal victory from *Ussum Cassan* King of *Persia*, coming to the *Ottoman* Court about the particular affairs of his government of *Amassa*, fell so deeply in love with the wife of *Ach-*
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mat, that famous *Basba* that took *Otrantum*, that one day in the height of his passion, he offer'd her violence as she was going into the Bath. *Achmat* complain'd to *Mahomet*, and tore his Turbant and his Vest, to express his grief. *What is that you complain of*, haughtily answer'd the Grand Signior to the *Basba*, *My Son has done nothing but abus'd the Wife of one of my Slaves*. However to give *Achmat* satisfaction, he gave immediate order that *Mustapha* should be strangl'd, at the same time acting the part of a cruel Father and a just King.

Thus *Bajazet* and *Zizim* remain'd the only Heirs of the Crown. The first govern'd *Paphlagonia*, and resided not far from the Black Sea. The Second had the Government of *Liconia*, in *Asia* the less, so that they were both at a great distance from their father when he dy'd. They had ever been kept a sunder the one from the other, and had never seen one another but once, out of a piece of policy of *Mahomet*, for fear least jealousy should divide themselves, or

a strickt amity unite them both against him. They were of a different Character, and dispositions resembling in nothing but the passion which they had to reign. *Bajazet*, to whom the *Turks* gave the name of *Lightning* or *Thunder*, by no means made his Title good, as being of a spirit altogether poor and mean, and one that minded nothing less then War. *Zizim*, whose name signifies love, on the contrary had a lively Wit, a noble Soul, and was most generously inclin'd. He was not so handsome as *Bajazet*; but there appear'd in his Person, and in his Countenance, such a mixture of Grandeur, sweetness, and haughtiness mix'd together, that surpass'd beauty it self. He delighted extreamly in hunting, and all Military exercises. And yet he had no less a love for learning then he had for Arms. He understood Languages, among the rest the *Greek* and *Italian*; he spent some part of his time in reading of Histories; and he was then writing the Story of his Fathers Life, when the news came to him of his

his death. He was very zealous for the Mahumetan Religion, yet not with that head-strong passion, but that he had a great kindness for the Knights of *Rhodes*, whom his Father mortally hated, Besides all that, he had a particular affection for the Grand Master, from the very time that the first overtures of peace were made, and he had always a design to make as strict a league with him as the law of the Mussel-men would permit. And indeed there is such a coherence between the Story of the Grand Master and *Zizim*, that I cannot forbear to relate what happen'd to the two Brothers, before the Knights did interest themselves altogether in the quarrel.

So soon as *Bajazet* and *Zizim* understood of the death of the Emperor. They both of them minded nothing else but how to get into possession of the Empire. But before they took the Field, the partakers of each side at *Constantinople*, had taken Arms, and declar'd some for the One, and some for the Other. The heads of each party made out the best they could

could the right of both Princes. They that took *Bajazets* part, cry'd out that nature spake in his behalf, for that being the eldest, he could not in justice be depriv'd of the Crown. The Friends of *Zizim* pretended that a lazy slothful Prince as *Bajazet*, that gave not his mind to business, but led a dissolute life, did not deserve to succeed to the great *Mabomet*. They maintain'd that *Zizim*, being endow'd from Heaven with all the qualities that made a Prince worthy of an Empire, ought to be preferr'd in the succession to his Father. And as to the right of Eldership they added, that *Bajazet* indeed was born before *Zizim*; but that for that very reason he had no right to the Imperial Crown. For, said they, *the first is only the Son of Bajazet, the other is the Son of the Emperor. Bajazet was born while Amurath liv'd, and before Bajazet bare the Scepter. But Zizim came into the World, when his Father was in possession of all the Turkish dominions, and after he had conquer'd the Empire of the Greeks;*

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so that it might be truly said, that this young Prince was born upon the Throne; and that Nature, as well as Fortune, had design'd him for the Empire.

Both parties thus heated, fell at length from disputes to blows, the people taking part according as they were seduc'd and inveagl'd by the Janizaries and Bascha's; insomuch that they plunder'd one part of the Palace, and the Imperial Treasure, and one of the Grantees of the Court was slain in a popular insurrection, wherein there was much blood spilt.

While this was the condition of affairs at *Constantinople*, and that the two Princes were preparing to make good their claims by force of Arms, the Grand Master thought it very convenient to take the advantage of *Mahomet's* death, and of the division of the Princes, and to make an attempt upon the Island of *Meteline*. It was then one of the richest Islands in the *Archipelago*, and the most commodious for Knights, being seated directly against the mouth of the Strait of

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Gallipoli. The broyls of *Turkey* made the enterprize easy. For there was no likelihood of any relief by Sea from the Infidels, when their Forces were all employ'd in a Domestick War. These considerations encourag'd the Grand Master to make ready with all speed the Ships of the Order, and to spare for nothing that might procure the success of such an important design. The Commander *de Jales*, who at that time kept cruising the *Archipelago* with two Gallies, had order to attend the Fleet. When it was ready, it set Sail under the Conduct of the Commander *de Carmandin*, Bailly of *Lango*. But sickness happening in the Fleet, unseasonable weather, and contrary winds disappointed a design, the success whereof seem'd to be infallible. But that which the Grand Master contriv'd to revenge himself upon the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, better succeeded. For that same treacherous Prince having no regard to the Peace, according to the custom and genius of the *Mahumetans*, had sent certain Pyrats to take the
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the Vessels, and plunder the Ships belonging to the Order, as if open War had been declar'd. Thereupon the Grand Master order'd his Gallies to cruize along the coasts of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and to make all the havock they could upon a faithless Barbarian, Which was so effectually perform'd, that *Caerbei*, the *Soldan*, soon repented him of his perjury.

In the mean while *Bajazet's* party grew strong. For while the two *Sultans* were upon their march to dispute for the Crown by force of Arms, *Achmat*, who return'd to *Constantinople* when the *Turks* had forsaken *Otrantum*, and who was a person of great authority in the Empire, absolutely declar'd for *Bajazet*; whether it were that he was convinc'd of the justice of his cause, or that he hop'd to have the Government in his own hands, under a weak Prince. As he was a man prudent and bold, equally skill'd in Politicks, as War; after he had partly threaten'd, partly caress'd the more factious sort, he appear'd the Sedition by setting

upon the Throne one of *Bajazett's* Sons, of about thirteen years of age, whose name was *Sultan Corcut*, and proclaiming Emperor the Father of the young Prince. *Bajazett*, who had already tak'n shipping, soon came to *Constantinople* by the black Sea. *Achmat* receiv'd him at the head of the *Bashas* and *Janizaries* that he had gain'd, who having all of them saluted him Emperor, they conducted him to the Imperial Palace, surrounded with the shouts and acclamations of the people, who acknowledg'd him the lawful Heir of *Mahomet*.

Zizim's Adherents were vex'd to the very hearts to see his enemy upon the Throne; but the absolute power that *Achmat* had gain'd, forc'd them to dissemble their resentment, and to comply with the advancement of *Bajazett*. However, they held private Caballs together, and invited the young *Sultan* to make all the haste he could. *Zizim*, who had not the convenience of the Sea, but was to march through *Bithynia*, did not understand till he was upon the road,
of

of the Coronation of his Brother. This unwelcome news did nothing abate the courage of the young Prince. He believ'd the people, whose inclinations are prone to change, and often contrary to themselves, would turn of his side, so soon as he should appear at *Constantinople*; and he believ'd it so much the more, because that *Bajazet* had been always less belov'd than he. With these hopes he march'd in all haste towards *Prusa*, the ancient residence of the *Ottoman* Emperors, and made himself Master of the City, with those few Troops which he had brought with him out of *Lycaonia*. This first success seem'd to promise more. And therefore, that he might not be wanting to his own good fortune, he labours, by means of his friends, to draw to his party the Lords and Grandees of the Port; and to regain the affection of the *Jantzaries*, got what Money he could together, and reinforc'd his Army from day to day.

Bajazet, in whom desire of rule had augmented both his wit and his

Q 3. courage,

courage, spar'd for nothing on his side, to stop the progress of the Sultan his Brother. And fearing lest *Zizim* should make himself Master of all *Asia*, he sent *Achmat* against him with a numerous Army, and made up of the old Souldiers of the Army. The *Basha*, who desir'd nothing more then to finish what he had begun, makes all possible haste, and encamps not far from *Prusia*, in a woody plain, resolv'd to carry the place, and to get the Prince into his power, who was the only obstacle to the repose of the new Emperor. *Zizim*, who had not time to fortify the City, and wanted provisions to hold out a Siege, rather chose to take the field, then to be shut up in a weak and unprovided place. Thereupon out he marches at the head of his Cavalry; and having discover'd *Achmat's* Troops, which he did not think so nigh at hand, he resolv'd to give Battel immediately. Thus resolving to venture all for a Crown, he marches directly toward the enemy, telling his Souldiers, that there

was

was no other way but either to conquer, or dye. *Achmat* stood him with a wonderful resolution; and after he had born the fury of the first shock, he charg'd him so rudely, that the *Asiatics* were soon put to the rout. The most part of them were raw Souldiers, ill disciplin'd, effeminate, and more accustom'd to repose and luxury, then to the noise of arms and labour. The Prince return'd to the charge with some of the choice of his Army, but they perish'd almost all by his side, and he himself had either been slain, or tak'n, had not night come on. Thereupon, favour'd by the darkness, he got into the next wood, hoping to rally his Troops, and to bring them on again the next day. But understanding that the most part of his people were either prisoners, or slain, he took a sudden resolution to fly for succour to the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, the King of *Cilicia*, and the Grand Master of *Rhodes*. To this purpose, with only forty Horse, marching day and night through unknown places, at length he got into

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Syria.

Syria. Being come to *Jerusalem*, he went to visit the Temple of *Solomon*, to which the *Mahumetans* give a particular veneration; and there prostrated at the foot of the Altar, he besought the Divine Majesty to favour his just designs; after which, continuing his journey through the Deserts of *Arabia*, he came to *Caire*.

Cairbey receiv'd *Zizim*, not as a Fugitive, and despoyl'd Prince, but as a great King, the Son of a most famous Conqueror, and of the most Puissant Emperor that ever the *Turks* had. When he understood that the Prince was at hand, he sent before the most considerable *Emirs* and *Malukes* of his Court. And at the same time he went to receive him at the Gate of his Palace, contrary to the custome of the *Soldans*; nor were there any sort of honours or caresses with which he did not entertain him. *Zizim*, so much the better pleas'd with his entertainment, by how much the more he look'd upon the lowness of his condition, made his returns to the civilities of the
Chirur-

Chirurgion, as shew'd his acknowledgment, but testifi'd nothing of weakness, or want of courage. After he had declar'd to him the reason of his coming, he told him withal, that he apply'd himself to him, as to the most zealous observer of the *Mahometan* Law. He conjur'd him by the Temple of *Solomon*, and the Sepulcher of the Prophet *Mahomet*, which were both in his Dominions, to assist an unfortunate person with his counsels and his forces, against the violences of a barbarous Brother, who had depriv'd him of the Crown, and also sought to take away his life. The *Soldan*, mov'd by the discourse of *Zizim*, made him all manner of offers. But as *Cairbey* was a Politick Prince, who would not easily engage in dangerous affairs, being rather a lover of quiet and repose, he promis'd him first to labour an accommodation with *Bajazet*; and to keep his word, he dispatch'd away an *Emir* to *Constantinople*. The Embassy was no way pleasing to *Zizim*, who well knew that such kind of differences were

were not to be determin'd but by force. But the posture of his affairs, and the consideration of his wife and children that came after him to *Caire*, enforc'd him to dissemble. And the better to conceal his passion, he desir'd to go to *Mecca*, to worship the Sepulcher of *Mahomet*, though perhaps more out of discontent than devotion.

Hardly was the *Ottoman* Prince return'd, but news came from *Constantinople*. *Bajazet*, who in all things follow'd the counsel of *Achmet*, accepted the mediation of *Cairbey*, not so much to reconcile himself with his Brother, as to amuse him, and ruine him, under the pretence of accommodation. The *Soldan* overjoy'd to see himself the Arbitrator of so great a quarrel, went about to persuade *Zizim* that a part of the Empire was better then nothing; and upon that score he offer'd him for his share a Province in *Asia*. The *Sultan* was much displeased at his Proposition, and could not forbear from manifesting how high an injury it

was

was to his pride. By this he found that mediation did but only make him lose time; and therefore not finding *Cairbey* very readily dispos'd to succour him, he resolv'd to implore the assistance of other Princes, at what time he receiv'd an Embassy from the *Grand Caraman*.

This Monarch, whom *Mahomet* had despoild of the Kingdom of *Cilicia*, now call'd *Caramania*, thought he had now a favourable opportunity to recover the Kingdoms which he had lost, and made no question but that by declaring himself against *Bajazet*, he should oblige *Zizim*, should he contribute to put him in possession of the Empire, to restore him his own. Upon this consideration he rais'd forces, and requested succour from all his friends. The Grand Master, to whom he particularly address'd himself, sent him five Gallies laden with Souldiers and Artillery; who were readily willing to go, when the Counsel understood that it was done for the interest of *Zizim*, who had been always kind to the

the Knights, and the Vessels of the Order. In short, when *Caraman* had rais'd his Army, he sent for *Sultan Zizim* to come and joyn with him. The proposition of the King of *Caramania* was much more acceptable to the Prince, then that of the *Sultan*; but that which chiefly made him determine to leave *Caire*, was, that several *Basha's* ill satisfi'd with the new Government, had by particular expresses assur'd him of their fidelity and services. However, as much displeas'd as he was in himself with *Cairbey*, he would not break with a Prince from whom he had receiv'd so much kindness; and who was able to do him as much prejudice. So that as a mark of the confidence he repos'd in him, he left his wife and children with him.

The great desire which *Zizim* had to obtain the Crown, which, as he pretended, belong'd to him, and of which he thought himself more worthy than *Bajazet*, made him hasten with all speed to *Mount Taurus*, where the Grand *Caraman* expected him;

him; and the reason which that expell'd King had to hate the *Turks*, made *Zizim* believe that he should find in him an assur'd and faithful friend. After they had sworn to each other an inviolable Amity, the two Princes march'd together over vast Plains, and encamp'd with their Forces near to *Livanda*, a City of *Cap-padocia*; *Achmat*, who had winter'd in *Lycaonia*, neer *Icchium*, advanc'd with his Army upon the first report of the Confederacy of *Caraman* and *Zizim*; on the other side also *Bajazet*, whom the desire of ruining his Brother, made more bold and valiant every day then other, set forth from *Constantinople* at the head of a hunder'd thousand men, and joyn'd with *Achmat*, who had at least as many.

Whatever resolutions the two Princes had taken, they began to be afraid of so great a force; and *Caraman*, who knew his Troops to be far weaker then those of the *Turks*, gave *Zizim* to understand that it would be but meer rashness to give Battel.

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He also endeavour'd to perswade him that it was the part of prudence to retire. But the young Prince could not so resolve; either honour or despair caus'd him to make a proposal to *Bajazet*, that they might terminate their differences by a single combat in the sight of both Armies. *Bajazet*, who was not stout enough, and who was in too prosperous a condition to accept such a challenge, propos'd to *Zizim* another way of accommodation, and offer'd him any such Province as he should like upon the Frontiers of *Turkey*, with two hunder'd thousand Crowns in Gold every year, and a Court becoming the *Ottoman* magnificence.

Had those offers been as sincere, as they were made in craft; they would not have contented *Zizim*, whose ambition was not to be satisfi'd but with a Crown. He rejected them with disdain. But knowing that *Achmat* did but only seek to ensnare him, that he might get his person into his power, while he kept him in play with fair words, he at length

was perswaded to retreat. The advice which he had of their close pursuit, advis'd him to save himself through Forrests and Deserts in the most difficult Streights of Mount *Taurus*. The *Caraman* follow'd him presently after, with his Forces very much tir'd. *Zizim* had formerly secur'd himself in this place from the persecution of an enemy that was not his Brother; but judging well, that a Brother so unnatural as his would never be at rest, till he had establish'd his Throne by the death of him that had the only right to pretend to it; after he had made several reflections upon the present, and the future, he resolv'd to seek the Alliance and protection of the Grand Master, whose generosity he was well acquainted with, and who was also a friend of the Grand *Caraman*. To that purpose he wrote to *Rhodes* by one of his most faithful servants; but that Messenger was tak'n by the *Turks*, who possess'd all the passes of the Countrey, and carri'd to *Bajazet*, who put him immediately to death.

When

When *Zizim* understood that, and that *Achmat* sought for him in all places, he left Mount *Taurus*, and took the way of *Lycia* toward the Sea with the Grand *Caraman*, who was himself his guide. Who, no sooner were they got clear of the Streights of the Mountain, but their Troops who were posted there, and were preparing to follow them, were surrounded, and cut in pieces by *Achmat*. These new misfortunes put the young Prince upon sending to the Grand Master two prudent and faithful persons, the one of which was nam'd *Duan*, and the other *Solyman*. And there happen'd to be at that time a *Galiot* of the Order, that carri'd the Embassadors of *Zizim* to *Rhodes*.

Duan and *Solyman* fully inform'd the Grand Master of the adventures of their Prince. And afterwards they told him that it belong'd to none but the most Illustrious Knights of the World to protect an oppress'd Innocent; and that it was less an honour to humble the proud, then to assist the miserable. That *Zizim* requir'd neither money

money nor men; being resolv'd to submit a while to his bad fortune; that he did not covet to rule, but only sought an *Asylum*, where he might live in safety and quiet. They added, that in his youth he had had a manifest affection for the Order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and that he hop'd that the *Mahumetan* Law wherein he had been bred, would not hinder them from taking pity upon a young Prince expos'd to the most cruel persecution that ever was. To conclude, they told him that nothing would render the Knights of *Rhodes* more formidable to *Bajazett*, then their having his Brother in their power; nor more considerable either in *Europe* or in *Asia*, then to be Master of the Destiny of a Prince, who was *Mahomet's* Heir.

These reasons were too sound not to move the Grand Master, who understood besides how profitable such an accident would be to all Christendom. It was therefore resolv'd in Council to entertain *Zizim*, and the grand Vessel of the Treasury was

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forthwith commanded together with a Galley, a Caravel, and other Vessels to go and fetch him. They also made ready at the same time a safe Conduct, after the same form which the Embassador desir'd. The Grand Master made choice of *Don Aluare* of *Zuinga*, Prior of *Castile*, for so honourable a Command, and gave him his Orders how he should behave himself toward the Prince.

Bajazett on the other side finding by a Letter intercepted, and by the advices which he had, that *Zizim* had bent his course toward the Coast of *Lycia*, to pass from thence by Sea to *Rhodes*, sent after him a body of Horse, with orders to take him dead or alive. *Zizim*, who had intelligence thereof, presently retir'd to the Sea side, where the great *Caraman* had prepar'd a Ship ready, in case the Prince should be pursu'd. The Spahi's however made so much haste, that they miss'd him but a moment; they appear'd at the very time when he was but just got into the Barque; and he was no sooner put off from the

the shoar, but taking a Bow in sight of his Brothers souldiers, he let fly an Arrow, to the point whereof was fasten'd a Letter, the Contents of which were as follow,

King Z I Z I M,

To King Bajazett his cruel
Brother.

IF I commit a crime in flying for Refuge to the Christians, especially to the Knights of Rhodes, the mortal enemies of our Illustrious Family, 'tis thou who art the only cause of it, both before God and Men. Thou art not only content to have depriv'd me of the Empire, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane; thou enforcest me to seek an ignominious sanctuary to save my life. Had Mahomet foreseen that thou wouldst one day have in such a manner disgrac'd the honour of the Name of Mussulman, and the Or-

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roman Race, he would have been thy executioner himself. But I hope that Heaven will revenge me of thy Tyranny; and it is my prayer to our great Prophet, to hasten the punishment which thou deservest.

When the Horsemen saw that the Bark was out of their reach, they return'd, enrag'd that they had miss'd their prey; and carri'd the Letter to *Bajazett*. The Barbarian could not refrain from tears when he read it: And it is reported that he was seiz'd with a terrour when he had consider'd it, and fell into a deep fit of malancholly. So great a power have the conceptions of Nature and Religion, at certain times, upon minds, the most cruel and impious. In the mean time, *Zizim*, who had heard no tidings of his Embassadors, not knowing what course to steer, nor were to land in safety, wander'd at the mercy of the waves and winds along the Coast of *Lycia*, at what time he discover'd certain Vessels, that with all the sail they could, seem'd

seem'd to make toward him. Now, as it is natural to the unfortunate to be afraid of every thing, the Prince imagin'd them to be either Pirates, or such as had a design upon his life, being in pursuit of him by his Brothers order, upon which he commanded the Pilot to gain the first landing-place: But the event prov'd to him that he had had a false alarm. For they whom he took for Pirates and Enemies, were the Ships of *Rhodes* that were sent to seek him out.

When the Vessels were within sight of *Lycia*, *Don Alvarez*, according to his Instructions, sent *Zizim's* Embassadors, and a Knight along with him to give notice of his Arrival. No sooner were they landed, but perceiving a Bark not far from the place where they went ashore, they found there *Zizim* himself, whom they thought to have been at the Court of the Grand *Caraman*. The Embassadors gave him an accompt of the favourable Inclinations of the Grand Master, and the Knight told him that

Don Alvarez, a kinsman of the Kings of *Castile*, Captain General of the Armies of the Order, and the Grand Masters Lieutenant, was come on purpose to conduct him safely to *Rhodes*. The Prince, who found something that was very acceptable in so strange an Adventure, and who perhaps out of pride, would not at first confess his flight and his fear to an unknown person, smartly reply'd, that not questioning the generosity of the Grand Master, he thought it convenient rather to come and expect him upon the Coast, then to put him to the trouble of searching after him. After which the Knight returning to the *Brigantine*, and coming up with the Vessels at Sea, *Don Alvarez* made to the Prince himself, to salute him in his own Galley. He presented him the Grand Masters safe conduct and Letter, and then carry'd him into the great Ship with a loud noise of Trumpets, and the Thunder of the Canon.

The Prior of *Castile* was one of those *Spaniards*, who being rarely bred, perfectly understood the world, being

being no less polite then dextrous in his behaviour; and therefore he faild not to pay *Zizim* all those respects and offices which were due to an unfortunate and afflicted Prince. For though ill fortune had not abated the courage of the young *Sultan*, it had however somewhat encreas'd his natural melancholy. The Procedure of *Don Alware* affected *Zizim* in such a manner, that he testified at first how sensible he was of his kind offices, and gentle services. *Generous Knight*, said he, *in loosing a Throne, I have not lost those thoughts which Nature bequeaths to the most barbarous. And if fortune do not altogether destine me to misery, you shall find that I was not born ungrateful. But I see your generosity is altogether pure, and that in treating an Unfortunate so worthily, you only seek the honour of doing good. Yet I cannot wonder enough, added he, that so much civility should be shewn to the Son of the most implacable enemy Your Order ever had, and I must confess, that therein I admire your ingenuity.*

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Great

Great Prince, Repli'd the Knight,
Reason commands, that we should
give honour to persons of high birth,
and real merit, whatever their con-
dition be; and they are but mean
souls, that rather follow the Fortunes,
then the persons of Kings. You are
forc'd to fly ill intreated by your sub-
jects, and depriv'd of your Domi-
nious, but you are still a King, you
are still Sultan Zizim. We receive
you as a Prince, whose virtue and
misfortune render him worthy the
esteem of Christians, and not as an
enemy. Nor are you to wonder that
the Grand Master entertains in this
manner the Son of an Emperour, who
mortally hated us. Mahomet your
Father did all he could to ruine us:
we have done all we could to with-
stand his triumphant Arms, and by
the mercy of God we obtain'd a signal
Victory against him, the remembrance
of which After-Ages will preserve.
The Knights of Rhodes know how to
vanquish those that assail them; but
they know how to relieve with hu-
manity those that cast themselves into
their

their Protection; nor are there any Injuries which they do not forget, when their enemies are no longer able to do them harm.

The Answer of *Don Alvarez* convinc'd *Zizim* of the generosity of the Knights, and entirely gain'd his confidence.

The Grand Master had commanded that he should be treated like the Son of an Emperour and a King. To which purpose the Officers that first serv'd him at his Table, made an Essay of the meat, according to the custom of the Courts of *Europe*. *Zizim* seem'd to be surpriz'd, because that Ceremony is not in fashion among the *Turks*: but it was told him it was the usual practice at the Tables of the *European* Princes, and that it was an Assurance against poison. Oh! said he, *I am not afraid of being poisoned by such generous Knights as you; I have put my life and fortune into your hands, and I hold myself secure. Besides, I had rather you should treat me as a friend, then a Prince.* Concluding those words, he

he took something out of every dish of which no Essay had been made, and putting all the meat into one plate, he began to eat, to let the Knights know how much he confided in them. After that he began to be more gay and pleasant, while the good entertainment that he receiv'd had almost made him forget his past misfortunes.

Nevertheless, when the Ships were under sail, and that the Coasts of *Lycia* began to disappear, he then began to be apprehensive that nothing could be more worthy of composition than a fugitive and wandering King, driven to seek an *Asylum* in the territories of strangers, and of enemies. So that the sad thoughts which seiz'd him all of a sudden, caus'd him to be profoundly sad for some hours; so that all his courage was but little enough to bring him to his former humour.

For the mean while the Ship kept on their course, and they had so fortunate a passage, that they came in a small time within view of *Rhodes*.

Don

Don Alvarez speeded before in a Brigantine, to give the Grand Master notice of the Prince's arrival. All things were already order'd for his Entry; and among the rest of the preparations, there was a bridge of wood, which reach'd from the gate of the Port, above ten paces into the Sea, to the very place where the Ship that carri'd *Zizim* was to lye.

The most ancient Commanders which the Grand Master sent before to meet the Prince, receiv'd him with all the respect which was due to the Son of their Emperour *Mahomet*. So that while the Artillery play'd from all parts, he pass'd over the Bridge which was cover'd with cloth of Gold, in the midst of the Acclamations of the people, whom curiosity had drawn to the shoar. From whence, after he had mounted a Spanish Courser, richly harnessed, he rode forward to the Great *Piazza*, with the sound of fifes and Trumpers, conducted by *Don Alvarez*, who did him the Office of a Squire. The Streets were all strew'd with herbs & flowers, and an infinite

infinite number of people fill'd the plat-forms and windows. *Zizim*, entring into the City, was smitten with the beauty which appear'd there very rich in habit, as well to see as to be seen, and with a loud voice he spoke it, that it was not for nothing that the *Rhodian* women were accounted the fairest of all *Asia*.

At the same time that the Ship which carry'd *Zizim* entred the Port, the Grand Master march'd out of the Castle with a pompous train, and in very good order. He was attended by a troop of young Knights, very richly habited, and mounted upon horses of high price. The Officers of the Order follow'd them; every one wearing about their necks a Chain of Gold, going two and two, with countenances wherein there was both haughtiness and modesty mixed together. The Grand Master appear'd at last, apparell'd in Tissue of Gold, embroider'd with precious stones, mounted upon a *Neopolitan* Steed, whose harness was all embroider'd with Gold and Silver. The Squires

Squires and Pages that follow'd him, were no less remarkable for the splendour of their habits and furniture, then for their goodly presences, and dexterity in the management of their Horses. But there appear'd an Air so noble, and something so majestic in the person of the Grand Master, that he was easily distinguish'd from the rest of the company. A great body of Horse clos'd up the Rear of the Retinue.

The Grand Master stopp'd before the Church of *St. Sebastian*, and put his men in order in the *Piaz*, expecting the approach of the *Sultan*. So soon as *Lizim* perceiv'd the Grand Master, who was shew'd him by *Don Alvarez*, though he were remarkable enough in many other respects, he saluted him according to the manner of the *Turks*, by putting his finger three times upon his mouth. The Grand Master on his part making a low obeysance, advanc'd toward him, and making a second bow, gave him a very civil complement in *Italian*, which was answer'd

swer'd by the Prince with a good grace, and in expressions full of good sense. After that they gave their hands each to other, and having repeated some few more words of friendship and kindness, they march'd together to the *French Lodgings*, which were prepar'd for the Prince. The Grand Master, when they began to set forward, gave him the upper hand; but *Zizim*, making some reflexions upon it, would not permit it at first. *I am your Captive*, said he, *and it becomes not a Captive to take the place of honour*. Sir, answer'd the Grand Master, *Captives of your condition, preserve their dignity in all places, and I would to God you had as much power in Constantinople as you have in Rhodes*.

As to the rest, *Zizim* appear'd neither merry nor sad, during the whole Calvacade. He carry'd the look of a person, who had the proof both at one time of good and bad fortune; or like one that believ'd himself worthy of the honours which were done him. He seem'd however
to

to be highly pleas'd with the behaviour of the Knights; and when he alighted from his Horse, he embrac'd the Grand Master with a very tender affection, calling him several times his Protector and Father. That day, and for some daies following, they had several particular discourses upon the present condition of Affairs; but all that time abstain'd from particular conferences. However, there was nothing omitted for the diversisement of the young *Sultan*, so that there was nothing to be seen at *Rhodes* but Hunting-matches, Running at the Ring, Shews, and magnificent Feasts. But all these diversitements did not compleat the repose of the Prince's mind. For though he were not afraid of the Knights, he could not think himself in safety in a place full of *Greeks*, and so neer the *Turks*; and what was more the proceedings of the *Port*, daily encreas'd his disquiet and his fears.

At the beginning of those divisions which turmoil'd the *Ottoman Empire*, after the death of *Mahomet*,
Bajazett

Bajazett was afraid that it would not go well with his affairs, so long as he was not in friendship with the Grand Master, however he could not condescend to demand peace himself. There to save his reputation, he dealt in private with the Sub-Basha *De Pizzona*, who was come over to his Party, and was Governour of *Lycia*. The Sub-Basha sent an Embassador to *Rhodes*, with instructions not to speak of *Bajazett*, but only to manage a truce between the people of *Lycia* and the *Rhodians*, believing that a Peace would easily follow a Truce. But the Embassy not having that success which was expected, *Bajazett* made use of *Achmat* to carry on his design. The *Basha*, as jealous of the honour of the *Sultan*, as the Governour of *Lycia*, wrote, as from his Supream a very yielding Letter to engage the Grand Master to an accommodation, and entrusted *Lasim Brabim* for his Agent with the Letter. The Grand Master thought himself obliged to hear the Propositions of *Achmat*, as
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well for the love of his people, who stood in need of rest after the toils of so long a war, as for the honour of the Order, to whom a Treaty could not be but advantageous, that mention'd nothing of Tribute.

The Reception of *Zizim*, made *Bajazet* impatient of a conclusion of peace. Upon which *Achmat* urg'd it more and more by his Minister *Lasim Ibrahim*. He offer'd also that the Grand Signior should sign whatever the Knights desir'd, and for a pledge of his real intentions, he restor'd all the Vessels of the Order which had been taken since the Truce by the Pyrates of *Lycia*.

All these condescensions of the Port, so different from the *Ottoman* Haughtiness, more then ever alarm'd Prince *Zizim*. He imagin'd with himself, that his Brother was not so desirous of peace, but only that he might have an occasion to destroy him; and that when Trade should be free between the *Rhodians* & *Turks*, he should be in daily fear of either being stabb'd or poison'd : and that the

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runagate *Greeks* so accusom'd to treachery and murther, would omit nothing to serve *Bajazett* to good purpose. In the midst of these thoughts he resolv'd to seek a Sanctuary elsewhere, to preserve himself from a violent death, to which purpose he open'd his mind to the Grand Master, in whom he put an entire confidence. The Grand Master found that *Zizim* offer'd nothing but reason; yet because the affair was of great impotance, he resolv'd to have the advice of his Council, before he gave the Prince a positive answer. Among them, Opinions were different, while some affirm'd that it was for the interest and honour of the Order to keep the Prince; that *Bajazett* durst not refuse the Knights any thing, or make any attempt upon them, while *Zizim* remain'd at *Rhodes*; that when he was out of their power, they could expect nothing but a cruel war, or a very disadvantageous peace. That by all the rules of prudence they were to lay hold upon so fair an occasion;

caſion; or at leaſt before the retreat of the *Sultan*, they were to make an honourable agreement with the Port. As for the ſafety of the Prince, they might eaſily ſecure it, by affording him a ſufficient Guard, there being very few *Aſſaſſinates* that would attempt the perſons of great men, at the hazard of their own lives.

The more diſinterreſted, and the wiſer fort were of a contrary judgment, that a removal was the only way to preſerve *Sultan Zizim* from the miſfortunes that threatned him: that war did no way ſecure him, that after a refusal of Peace with the *Turks*, they had no way to ſecure him from poiſon or aſſaſſination, while treaſon enters every where, and the fidelity of ſervants and guards is not proof againſt any large ſum of money. That while *Bajazet* ſought to get him into his power by all the waies imaginable, they could neither ſurrender him without betraying their faith given, nor keep him without drawing upon themſelves the indignation of the *Sultan*.

S 2

Zizim,

Zizim, who saw that his affairs would spin out too much time, unless he determin'd something speedily, and well enough understood the danger of delay, press'd the Grand Master to give him his liberty to be gone, and conjur'd him to permit him that he might go to the King of *France*, as being the person most capable to protect him against the Tyranny of his Brother. For besides that he guess'd at the *French* Humour, by the behaviour of the Grand Master, he had heard frequent discourses of their generosity; nor did he question but that the successors of *Clovis* and *Charlemagne*, whose famous deeds he had read, would take delight in restoring a Prince to his Throne.

The Grand Master could not withstand neither the reasons, nor the powerful instances of *Zizim*. He approv'd his determination touching his retreat into *France*. But that which made him approve it the more, was that he thought that *Zizim* ran no hazard in a Countrey which produc'd no Monsters, and where poison

was

was unknown. So that the safety of a poor Prince who had thrown himself into the Arms of the Knights, made the Grand Master in some measure forget his own Interests, and those of his people; for not troubling himself about the ill consequences that so hasty a Retreat might draw after it, he gave all orders necessary for the Voyage into *France*. He redoubl'd at the same time his civilities to the *Sultan*; and the eve before his departure made him a most magnificent Feast. *Zizim* admir'd more then once the variety and dressing of the meat, and the order of the service, confessing that the magnificence of the *Ottoman* Emperours had nothing so sumptuous. During the feast there was a noble consort of musick, and among the rest of the Musicians an English man, who sung rarely, and plaid upon a certain unusual Instrument compos'd of four Pipes joyn'd together, charming all the company, except the Prince, whose ears were not accusom'd to such sweet musick. Whereupon the Grand

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Master who perceiv'd it, and sat alone at the Table with him, sent for a Turkish Slave, whom he thought would better please him.

This Slave, singing a Turkish Air, and playing upon I know not what sort of Instrument, making faces, and using ridiculous postures, delighted *Zizim* so well, that he caus'd him to laugh heartily. He eat plentifully and as strict as he was in the observation of his Law, he drank wine sometimes mix'd with Aromatick juices, and sometimes neat without any composition. The Feast was in the Grand Master's Balace, where they sat upon two Chairs with a Table before them, after the fashion of *Europe*; but that posture was uneasy to the *Sultan*, who was wont to eat cross-legg'd, so that he cast his eyes up and down to see if no body observ'd his disturbance.

But after all these lesser observations, *Zizim* was extraordinarily satisfi'd with the marks of friendship which he receiv'd from the Grand Master during his stay at *Rhodes*; he return'd

return'd him thanks several times ; and as a testimony of his gratitude, he caus'd three Authentick Acts to be forthwith made ready, which he put into the Grand Master's hands. The first was an absolute power for him to conclude a Peace with the Port, as he should see good. The second was a kind of a *Manifesto* for the discharge of the Knights, by which the Prince declar'd that he had earnestly desir'd to go out of *Rhodes*, and to be conducted into *France* : which is alone enough to justify the Grand Master, whom some ill-meaning, or ill-inform'd people have blam'd for letting the Prince go. The third Act was a perpetual confederation of the Prince with the Order, in case he should ever come to be restor'd to the Dominions and Territories of his Ancestors. This last Act is so much for the honour of the Grand Master, and so highly manifests the acknowledgment of *Zizim*, that I thought it might not be troublesom to the Reader to see it,

1482

Let all the world know that King Zizim, of the Race of the Ottomans, Son of the invincible Mahomet, King of Kings, and Sovereign Emperour of Greece and Asia, is infinitely beholding to the thrice generous, and thrice illustrious, the Lord Peter D'Aubusson, Grand Master of Rhodes. Let all the world also know that for the kind Offices he hath shewn me in the most perilous adventures of my life, and to testifie my acknowledgment as far as the present condition of my fortune will give me leave, I promise solemnly to God and our Great Prophet, that if I ever recover either absolutely or in part, the Imperial Crown of my Father, I promise, I say, and swear to hold a perpetual friendship, and inviolable peace with the Grand Master and his successours according to the Articles following.

In the first place I engage my self, my children, and the children of my children to have an eternal kindness for the order of St. John of Jerusalem, so that neither I, nor my children shall do them any injury either by

by Sea or Land. That we will be so far from stopping the Vessels or disturbing the commerce of the Merchants of Rhodes, or of any other Islands appertaining to the Order, that our ports shall be free to them in all the Provinces under our obedience, as if they themselves were our subjects; or rather we will entertain them as our friends, permitting them to buy, sell, or transport what Merchandize they please, without paying any custom, or duty.

Besides this, I consent that the Grand Master shall every year take out of my Territories three hundred Christians of both sexes, and at what age he pleases, to put into the Islands of the order, or to do with them what he thinks best. And in some measure to make satisfaction for the expences which the Grand Master has bin at, and every day so liberally allows for my sake, I oblige my self to pay in ready money a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns in Gold. Lastly I promise upon oath to restore him all the Isles, all the Lands, and all the

*The History of
the Fortresses which the Ottoman
Emperours have taken from the or-
der. And for a testimony that this
is my will, I have sign'd with my
hand, and seald with my seal this
present Act given at Rhodes in the
palace of the French Apartment the
fift of the month Regeb, the year of
the Hegira, 887.*

*The 31. Of August in the
Year of grace, 1482.*

The third of September which was
the day that the Prince took shipping,
he was attended to the Sea with the
same Pomp, and the same ceremonie,
with which he was receiv'd. He took
his leave of the principal Knights,
after a most obliging manner, wherein
there appear'd nothing of Barbarism.
He also laid aside all his haughtiness,
when he gave the Grand Master his
last farewell: For it is reported that he
threw himself at his feet, and kiss'd
his hand with a profound respect. The
Grand Master tenderly embrac'd him,
and wept for some time over him ei-
ther through compassion, or through
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some secret dictate that he should never see him again. The Knight *de Blanchefort*, who was return'd to *Rhodes* since the raising of the siege, & the Knight *de Rochechenard* had order to conduct the *Sultan* into *France*, not to mention the Knights who were nam'd to accompany him, and to serve him as a convoy; but they enter'd all together with *Zizim* into the great ship of the order, and set sail the same day with a favourable wind.

The Grand Master, who had already given advice to the Pope of the arrival of the *Ottoman* Prince, gave him also notice of his departure by this opportunity; and sent him word in particular, that *Zizim* of his own accord had made choice of *France* for the security of his life: that he had good ground for his fears; in regard that for the forty dayes that he had stay'd in *Rhodes* he was certainly enform'd that the Grand signiour had us'd all his endeavours either to take or murder him.

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The departure of the Prince did not work that ill effect which some were afraid of. For though *Bajazet* was soon inform'd of what had pass'd, yet he desir'd peace with the same earnestness as before; because he always lookt upon the Grand Master as the Arbitrator of the *Sultan* his Brothers fortune. So that the Embassadors that departed for *Constantinople* the next day after Prince *Zizim* was gon, were honourably receiv'd by the Grand Signiour, and the peace had bin presently concluded, had not the pride of *Achmat* put a stop to it.

This *Basha*, equally proud & cunning, who in his letters had given a blank paper to the Grand Master, could not endure that the first proposition which the Embassadors made should be that no mention should be made of Tribute. He brake forth upon that subject with a haughtiness, which made him almost forget the respect to the sacred Persons of the Ministers of Sovereign Princes. The Knight *Guy de Mont Amand*, who was one of

of the Embassadors, and who in his instructions had express order to bear up briskly against the *Basha*, took him up short, and spoke to him with that sharpness, that had absolutely broke off the Negotiation, if *Misach Paleologus*, who was at the conference, had not allay'd their passions. After the death of *Mahomet* he was returned to the port, and had gain'd the favour of *Bajazet*, by espousing his Interest. He, well acquainted with the humour of the Knights, and having prov'd to his cost, the constancy of the Grand Master, knew it was in vain for *Achmat* to contend so obstinately upon the point of tribute, and told him his reasons briefly, though in the Turkish language, that the Embassadors might not understand him.

The Knight *Leonard Duprat*, who was the other Embassador, and understood Turkish, understanding the *Basha's* discourse, and repeating it in French to the Knight *de Mont A-maud*, was the occasion, that both standing stily to their principles,
Ach-

Achmats heat began to cool, so that of himself he began to give way to their demands. *Bajazet* promised not only to live in good amity with the Knights of *Rhodes*, but not to trouble the rest of the Christians. The Grand Master undertook for his part, to keep *Zizim* always in the power of the Knights, and to endeavour all he could that the *Sultan* should not fall into the hands of any Prince either Christian or Infidel. Upon this the peace was concluded according to the Articles which the Embassadors propos'd; and it may be said that never was any Accommodation made with the Port, either more honourable or more profitable to *Christendom*. That which was most remarkable and extraordinary was that *Bajazet* engag'd himself, either through weakness or Policie, to pay the Grand Master a kind of Tribute. To this purpose he sent to *Rhodes* *Cagritaim*, his principal favourite. and the two Knights bestir'd themselves so well, that they carry'd him along with them upon their return.

Cagritaim

Cagritaim declar'd in full council, that the Port would pay to the order thirty five thousand Duckets, money of *Venice*, for the subsistence of *Zizim*, and besides that, the Grand Signiour would pay every year to the Grand Master in particular ten thousand Duckets, to make him amends in some measure for the excessive charges he had bin at in the last war.

Achmat, who was the proudest person in the world, and one that mortally hated the Christians, especially the Grand Master and the Knights, could not brook this condescension in the Grand Signor: He accus'd him of lowness of Spirit, and cowardice; he murmur'd in publick, and made sharpe scoffs upon it. *Bajazet*, who for some time before began to grow jealous of the *Basha*, as of a person that did not love any thing more then war; and was therefore likely to take *Zizims* part, took these murmurs and rebukes for the symptoms of a revolt: And believ'd that only the death of such a dange-

dangerous enemy could break his designs. True it is that he ow'd to him for the Crown; but usually great benefits are look'd upon as crimes: & weak Princes often find their safety in the destruction of those that rais'd them, and are able to pull them down again.

So soon as the peace was concluded between the Knights and the *Turkes*, the Grand Signiour put to death this famous *Basha* at a Magnificent feast, where were all the grandees of the Port, and where *Bajazet* was present himself. The discourse of the table falling upon the Peace, and *Zizim*, *Bajazet* to provoke *Achmat*, and to engage him to speak something to be layd hold on, publickly declar'd that he would lessen the Souldiers pay, and deprive the Grandees of the port of their employments that were not loyal to their lawful Prince. The *Basha*, who well understood that those words concern'd him, presently took fire, and went so high in the heat of the debauchery, as to tell the Grand Signor that it was but an ill way to establish

establish a throne to provoke the Souldiery; and that the *Ottom* in Monarcks were not assur'd of their Empires, so long as they had Brothers alive. He had no sooner spokè the words, but a mute instructed before gave him six stabs with a poignard. Others say that after the feast was over, *Bijazet* who loved wine, kept *Achmet* to drink with him alone, under pretence of friendship, and that seeing him half drunk he commanded two Eunuches to strangle him. However, it were *Cagritaim* succeeded at the Port in his place, though he had neither the merit nor experience; but he knew perfectly how to humour *Bijazet*, who only minded ease.

In the mean while, the Grand Master, who made little account of the friendship of the Indians, of whose perniciousness he had a thousand times experienc'd; and for that the person of *Lizim* seem very proper for him to make use of in case of a rupture, he apply'd himself wholly to make a league between the

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Christian Princes against the common enemy. He wrought several Letters to them, he sent them particular Agents to let them understand that there was never a fairer opportunity to ruin the *Ottoman* Empire, or at least to weak'n it very much; that *Zizim* at the head of a croisade would do as much as many Armies together, that the death of *Achmat* had depriv'd the *Turkes* of the most able Minister, and the most valiant Captain, that perhaps they ever had. That the *Grand Curaman*, and other Princes of *Asia* expected only when *Europe* would move, to declare themselves; and in short, that all the present conjunctures renderd that enterprize easie, which was so difficult of it self. But I know not by what fatality, if it were not rather the Incomprehensible disposal of providence, the Christian world, was not at all inclin'd to take advantage of the opportunity which Heaven it self seem'd to put into their hands. All *Italy* was then divided. The King
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of *Naples*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines* were in arms against the Pope and the common wealth of *Venice*. *France* was not less in trouble after the death of *Lewis* the 11th. The party of malecontents stirr'd up by the Duke of *Orleans* who pretended to the regency, and by the Count of *Angoulism* his cousin, had excited troubles over all the Kingdom. Besides the French desir'd quiet at home, only that they might be at leisure for the conquest *Naples*. And young *Charles* the 8th. Who naturally loved honour, made that the aim of all his ambition. The war of the *Moors* made work enough in *Spain*. And the bad correspondence which daily increas'd between the Emperour *Frederick*, and *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary* prevented them from uniting together against the *Turk*, so that all the designs of the Grand Master vanish'd in smoak, and with all his zeal he had only the greife to effect nothing.

But if the Christian Princes were

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not in a condition to make use of the person of *Lizim* for the common good of Christendom, they were no less disappointed in making advantage of him for their particular Interests. How importunate soever the most part of them were to have him, the Grand Master would never give his consent, and his orders were so well observ'd in that particular, that the order of St. *John* was always the Mistress of him. *Lizim* being arriv'd in *France*, the King receiv'd him but coldly, either because that *France* would by no means embroil themselves with the Port, just before the expedition against *Niples*, or else because they fear'd that an honourable reception, was an engagement too high in the entertaining a Turkish Prince, so that he stay'd but a very little while at Court, the Knights conducting him to the commander of *Bourgneus*, this was a place upon the confines of *Poictou* and *March*, pleasantly situated, where the Grand Priors of *Auvergne* kept their Residence.

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The Knight *Blanchefort*, with whom the Grand Master had particularly entrusted the person of *Zizim*, took care that the Prince should not be presently displeased. He gave him all the honour that his birth deserv'd, and shew'd him all the sports and pastimes that the Country could afford. But notwithstanding all these civilities, the Knight *Blanchefort* omitted not to have an eye upon the Prince, and to keep a strong guard about him, to hinder those that sought for him from getting him into their hands either by cunning or force. But as the love of liberty is more natural to Princes than to other men, *Zizim* soon perceiv'd that he was watch'd too narrowly. That reflexion made him suspect the diligences of the Knights, and caus'd him to think that he was rather kept as a prisoner than a Prince. He testify'd his displeasure at it, which caus'd those reports that ran about the world in prejudice of the Grand Master's honour. They gave out that it was a

violation of the publick faith to retain *Zizim* in prison against his will. That the Knights had sold his liberty to the *Ottoman* Port for forty thousand Ducats a year; and that it was therefore no wonder they had such a strict eye over him. That such a prisoner was a treasure for them, and that their insatiable avarice made them forget the more holy duties of civil society.

They that thus discours'd either through jealousy, or else judging by outward appearances, did not consider that at a time when all *Europe* was in an uproar, there was nothing more to be done for the good of Christendom, nor for the safety of *Zizim*, then what the Grand Master did. And had they been well inform'd of all the snares that the Grand Signiour laid for *Zizim*, they would then have chang'd their Opinion, and found that the Knights that so guarded him were the true defenders of his life, and of his liberty.

Nor had *Zizim* reason to complain

plain of the conduct of the Grand Master as well in reference to himself, as the *Ottoman* Port; for in desiring a safe conduct of him, he expressly declar'd that he intended to follow his counsel and orders in every thing, so that by the consent of *Zizims* Imbassadours the safe conduct was dispatched upon that condition, as the Grand Master observ'd in a Letter which he wrote to Pope sextus the 4th. Besides the *Sultan* had given the Grand Master a sufficient liberty to treat with the Grand Master as he pleas'd himself, and it was by vertue of that liberty that the Grand Master had concern'd *Zizim* in the treaty of peace.

As for the thirty thousand Ducats, certain it is, that the money was spent in maintenance of *Zizim*. By which the Grand Master was so far from getting any profit, that he made an addition to it out of his own revenue. Which may be easily thought to be true, considering with what royal magnificence the *Ottoman* Prince was always entertain'd,

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not to mention the infinite expences of receiving and sending Embassadors.

But *Zizim's* discontent lasted not long. For the Knights made him, soon to understand that the Guard that was upon him, was against his Enemies, and not him. Thus being quitted of his suspicions, and persuaded more then ever of the friendship of the Grand Master, he complain'd no more but of his bad fortune that had reduc'd him to a country and solitary life.

Now the peace between the order and the Port having open'd a freedom to trade, several Turkish Vessells came to *Rhodes*. And most of the *Turks* that Landed, were so taken with the beauty of the *Rhodian* women, that they spar'd for nothing to satisfy their desires. This glister of Gold grew such a temptation, that several of the *Rhodians* without regard to the Christian law, or their own, yielded themselves to the *Mahometans*. But the Grand Master abhorring such a shameful prostitution

tion, and to stop the torrent of such a scandal, condemn'd the Christian women that were convicted of such a crime as lying with a *Turk*, a *Moore*, or a *Jew*, to be burnt alive, and he order'd the punishment to extend to the very procurers of that infamous familiarity.

Some while after the Grand Master made a regulation upon *Sultan Zizim's* accompt. For considering how much it concern'd the honour of the order, and the General Interest of *Christendom*, that his person should not be expos'd to the Assassins of *Bajazet*, he order'd that the Knight *de Bluncheport* should take as many Knights as he pleas'd for the Guard of *Zizim* commanding strictly those that were nam'd to obey him without any more to do, declaring withall that such as shou'd be bound to attend upon *Zizim*, should enjoy all the prerogatives of Residence, and precedence, as if they had stay'd at *Rhodes*.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
Peter D'Aubuffon,
Grand Master of
RHODES.

Book Fifth.

WHILST *Zizim* had a private and obscure life in *France*, one *Bajazett* almost unknown till then appear'd in the world, resolv'd to take advantage of the divisions of the two *Ottoman* Brothers. He was their Uncle, being the Brother of *Mahomet* and Son of *Amurath*. After the loss of
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Constantinople, he was taken by the Christians in his Infant years, and carry'd to *Rome* in the Pontificat of *Nicholas* the fifth, who took care himself of his Education. The Instructions which he receiv'd were not altogether unprofitable: For he renounc'd the law of his fall Prophet and became a Christian. He apply'd himself afterwards to the study of humane Learning; and as he wanted not wit, he perfectly attain'd the Latine Language. But *Nicholas** the *Fifth* being dead, he left *Italy*, to travell into *Germany*. There he was well receiv'd; and the *Germans* lookt upon him as a person that might be useful to them in their Wars against the *Turks*. After he had stay'd sometime in the Emperor *Fredericks* Court, he went into *Hungary*, and there settl'd himself, not dreaming to raise his fortune any higher, for the example of the brave and vertuous *Matthias* made so little impression upon him, that he only minded his repose and pleasure in the Court altogether Warlike, and altogether Christian. But

* 1455

But the Quarrel between *Bajazet* and *Zizim* which made such a noise over all *Asia* and *Europe*, awak'nd him out of that dream wherein he lay, and rous'd his ambition by causing him to remember his birth. The flight of *Zizim* begat in him a desire to make war against *Bajazet*. He revolv'd in his mind, that having but one enemy to deale with, he might without fear dispute for the Empire, but at the same time he thought there was no way for him to compass his design, but by the assistance of the Knights of *Rhodes*. And he had a belief that infallibly he should attain his ends, provided he could engage the Grand Master to his side. To this purpose he wrote to him a long Letter in Latin. Wherein he first declar'd himself the only heir to the *Ottoman* Crown, as lawful Son of *Amurath*, pretending that *Mahomet* was but his bastard; then he spoke of his great feats of arms, like a true Knight errant; and because the Christian world might not be so well inform'd, he referr'd the Grand Master

Master to the *Turks* for a clearer understanding of things. But the *Turks* knew him not so well as the Christians; for he was carry'd away so young from *Constantinople*, that it was impossible for him to have done any thing remarkable in *Turky*. At last he highly extol'd the services he could do for Christendom, and the information he could give the Grand Master touching several important secrets of affairs, advising him not to let slip so fair an opportunity, & earnestly desiring his speedy answer. The letter was written with his own hand; but as if he had the management of all the business in the world, he concluded that it was writ in haste.

They were not convinc'd at *Rhodes* of *Bajazett* of *Hungaries* reasons. That *Braggadocchio* stile wherewith he thought to win the assistance of the Knights, was in part the reason why they refus'd it him. On the other side, the Grand Master who had a tender love for *Lizim*, and was loath to embroil himself with the Port, took no care to listen to

to the Propositions of an Adventurer, of whom he had no knowledge, and to who he had no engagement; so that this new Actor soon return'd to that obscurity wherein he had alwaies liv'd, and which he so much the rather deserv'd. because he had sought too late to quit it.

The Grand Signior took it the most kindly in the world, that he had behav'd himself in that manner, and as a mark of his acknowledgment he began from that time to pay him the forty thousand Duckets which he had promised him. The first payment was made by *Ussambei*, one of the Principal Officers of the Port. He was sent expressly to *Rhodes*, with order nevertheless to go for *France*, under pretence to thank *Charles* the Eighth, for receiving *Zizim* into his Territories, but indeed to learn certain intelligence of his Brother. However, *Bajazett* fearing lest *Ussambei* should find some obstacle in his Embassy, conjur'd the Grand Master that he should give him letters of recommendation for *France*. But the Grand Master

Master did not think it enough to write to the King. He was resolv'd that the Hospitalier of the Order should accompany the *Turkish* Embassador, to be his Guide, and to introduce him into the Court. And indeed *Ussambei* was better receiv'd than *Zizim* had been; for the complements of *Bajazett* highly pleas'd the *French*.

In the mean time the war of *Ter-rara* rais'd many combustions in *Italy*, and was meditating to have brought the Infidels into *Italy*. For *Hercules D'Este* became so proud through the Alliance of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, who had giv'n him his Daughter *Elenor* in Marriage, that he loftily scorn'd the friendship of the *Venetians*, which the Dukes his predecessors had alwaies highly sought for. He came to that degree of contempt, that he usurp'd their Lands, abus'd their subjects, not considering the kindnesses which he had receiv'd from the Republick, when after the death of his elder Brother, the Son of his other Brother took up
Arms

Arms to have depriv'd him of his Dominions. The *Venetians* could not brook the loftiness nor ingratitude of the Duke of *Terrara*. They rais'd puissant Armies against him; and leagu'd themselves again with the Pope, who was displeas'd with the King of *Niples*, both because that Prince had retain'd in his service about four hundred *Turks* of the Garrison of *Otranto*, and because he took little care in his Kingdom of the duties of the Holy See.

Ferdinand sent *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* to the succour of *Hercules* his Son-in law, of whom the Commonwealth had got great advantages. *Alphonso* had already pass'd the Mark of *Ancona*, and was advancing with his forces toward the *Terraras's*, when the *Colonna's* and *Cavelli*, who were risen up against the Pope, invited him to joyn with them in the *Compagna* of *Rome*. *Robert Malatesta*, who commanded the Army of the Republick, was soon at his heels, gave him battel, and absolutely defeated him. Which Victory fill'd

fill'd the *Venetians* full of hopes, and undertakings, but while they ransack'd the *Ferraresi*, and were going to make themselves Masters of *Ferrara*, the Pope of a suddain abandons them, whether he were gain'd by the submissions of *Ferdinand*, or whether he were jealous of the Progress of the Republick. However it were, *Sixtus* agrees with the Father and Son in Law; He also threaten'd the *Venetians* with the indignation and *Anathema's* of the Church, if they continu'd the war of *Ferrara*.

The Republick incens'd at so strange a proceeding; and foreseeing that this change would cause a great disorder in affaires, implor'd the aid of the *Turk* to sustain themselves, and to revenge the injury done them. *Bajazet* who was unwilling to displease the *Venetians*; forgot that he had promis'd not to disturb the Christians; or rather violated his word in that respect, and prepares a considerable Fleet to invade *Italy*. The news presently spread it self over all *Europe*. At *Rome* the

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alarm was taken, as if the enemy had been already at the Gates; and the Pope foreseeing the danger of the Church, if the *Turks* should enter *Italy* during the discords of the Christian Princes, and knew himself to be guilty of the discontent of the Republick, made it his whole business to divert the storme. The King of *Naples*, whom the danger more nerely concern'd, follow'd the Popes steps, and by common consent had recourse to the Grand Master, to whom they both wrote, and sent to him the Knight *Carraffa*.

But never was Embassie more to less purpose; for the care of the Grand Master had prevented the requests of *Ferdinand* and the Pope. He understanding sooner then they, the preparations that were made at *Constantinople*, and likewise knowing the private motives to that Engagement, labour'd incessantly to divert the storme before it began to break forth. The Publick good, and the particular Interest of the Church excited his diligence to keep the com-

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most enemy out of *Italy*: And his obligations to the King of *Naples* made him more Solicitous to omit nothing that might preserve the Kingdom of his Benefactor and friend from the invasion of the *Barbarians*. Therefore not to loose time, he dispatch'd away to the Grand Signior a *Rhodian*, whose name was *Mosco Perpiano*: a man tis true of low birth, but of an exalted genius, and capable of great affaires; and besides that, very proper to negotiate with the *Turks*, as being one who had lived long in *Turkey*, and perfectly understood their humour and language. And this was he that treated with the Sub-Basha of *Pizzona* about the truce, and first discover'd the cunning of *Achmat's* Letters.

Mosco, after he had made known to the Grand Signior, with whom he had a private audience, the Interest of his Highness to live in friendship with the Grand Master gave him to understand by degrees, that the *Venetians* were about to engage him in a bad designo. To that in-

tent, he represented to him that this great preparation was the ready way to bring upon him all the forces of *Europe*. That the most divided of the Christian Princes would not fail to reunite for the defence of their Religion and Crowns. That *France* who glory'd in assisting the Popes and the Holy Sec, would infallibly join with *Italy* upon such an occasion, and lay aside for a time their pretences to *Naples*. That whatever care the Knights could take, that they should not make use of the person of *Lizim* against the *Ottoman* Empire, it would not be any longer in their power to keep him. That the King of *France* would force him out of their hands, in spite of all their strength, and put him at the head of an Army, and then nothing was more to be fear'd than a Popular rising at *Constantinople*, which might happen to be attended with a total revolution. *Mesco* added according to his Instructions, that the Grand Master being of that account as he was among the Christian Princes, he could

could not possibly prevent his being engag'd in the Quarrel, how great so ever his desire might be to keep a good Correspondence with the Court. That if the preparations which the *Turks* made against *Italy* should infringe the accommodation which had been made upon *Zizim's* score, he had no reason to blame the Knights, who are ready punctually to observe all the articles of the treaty. *Mosco* then gave the Grand Signiour to understand that *Rhodes* was not in a condition to fear him, the ruins being repaired, and new fortifications daily added by the Grand Master.

This discourse of the *Rhodian* took singular effect. *Bajazet* was so mov'd at it, that he stood a good while without making any answer, casting frightful looks here and there, which shew'd the agitation and disturbance of his mind. At length rows'd out of a deep contemplation, and looking somewhat more calmly, he told *Mosco*, that in respect to the Grand Master, whom he ho-

noured as his Father, he had abandon'd the design which he had in hand. Then calling for *Basha Misich Paleologus*, and two other of his Ministers, he declar'd that he would not send his Fleet into the Mediterranean Sea, and commanded them at the same time to surcease all their preparations for war wherein they labour'd with an excessive earnestness. And that he might testify more of his freindship, and do him more honour, he wrote him a very obliging Letter, which he deliver'd to *Mosco*, the copy whereof follows.

7888

Bajazet

Bajazet King of Asia, Em-
perour of the Turks.

To the thrice happy Prince.
Peter D'Aubusson,
Grand Master of
RHODES.

WE have understood from the
mouth of your Embassadour,
what it is you request at our hands.
In truth you desire great things, and
which are of extream consequence to
our Empire. For a considerable Fleet is
not to be set forth without great ex-
pence; nor is such an enterprize to
be quitted without some kind of dis-
grace. But however, as I refer my
self wholly to your Counsel, and for
that I can refuse you nothing, for your
sake, I forget all my advantages. I
V 4 surcease

1484

surcease any further preparations, and engage to you upon my word, that my Navy shall not stir forth of the Streights of Gallipoly. I do this willingly, out of the desire I have, that you should alwaies be my friend, as you ought to be, since that for your sake I renounce both my interest and my honour. From Constantinople the fifth of the month of Rabi el Evel in the year of the Hegira, 889.

April 13. in the year
of grace, 1484.

Mosco return'd to Rhodes almost at the same time that the Knight Caraffa arriv'd there. That new Embassador of the Pope, and the King of Naples was surpriz'd to see that with all his haste he was come too late. So that finding his work done, he return'd as he came, at least that he might be the first that should bring the tydings, carrying along with him to the Pope and King Ferdinand, the Copy of the Letter of the Grand Signior. A resolution so sudden, and so happy, extreamly rejoyc'd all

all *Italy*, and the Pope was so satisfi'd with the Grand Master, that speaking of him to the Knight *Quendal*, Procurator of the Order at *Rome*, he call'd him several times, *The Buckler of the Church*, and *The Preserver of Christendom*.

Nevertheless, the Christian Princes, whose Dominions were neighbouring upon the *Turk*, did not yet think themselves safe, fearing that *Bajazet* would not long keep his word. For that reason *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*, *Aragon* and *Sicily*, made it all their most earnest suit to the Grand Master to have *Zizim* in their power. He would by no means grant them their request; but he promis'd them that so long as he had the *Sultan* at his disposition, he would keep the Grand Signior from enterprizing any thing upon their Dominions.

Bajazet lookt upon this Refusal for a signal piece of service, and thought himself so oblig'd to the Grand Master, that he resolv'd to make him a considerable present as a
mark

mark of his Gratitude. But not finding any thing of value enough to his mind amidst all the wealth of his Empire, he understood by some of his Renegado Confidents, that he could not make a more pleasing or acceptable present to the Grand Master, then the hand of St. *John Baptist*, which was then in his Father *Mahomet's* Treasury.

The Grand Signior overjoy'd at such a discovery, caus'd the hand to be immediately sent for, together with the shrine wherein it was kept, and causing it to be put into a Cypress box lin'd within with Crimson Velvet, and set without with an infinite number of precious stones, he sent it by one of his favourites, call'd *Cariaty Bey*, with a Civil Letter, the Inscription whereof was thus.

Bajazet King of Asia, and Emperor of the Turks, to the thrice wise, and thrice illustrious Peter D'Aubusson, Grand Master of Rhodes, thrice generous Prince, and Father of a most glorious Empire.

This hand was said to be the right
hand

hand of *John the Baptist*, which was learnt out upon this occasion, if the Vice-Chancellour *Cacursin* may be believ'd.

It was an ancient Tradition confirm'd by the Histories of the *Greeks*, that *St. Luke* the Evangelist having embrac'd the Christian Faith, the love which he had conceiv'd for *St. John Baptist*, inspir'd him secretly to take up his body bury'd in the City of *Sebastia*, between *Eli* and *Abdias*. To this purpose he went thither with some of *St. John's* Disciples, who were then living; but considering that they should hardly be able to carry the body away without being known and stopp'd, he cut off the hand that baptiz'd Christ, as the most noble part of the whole body, and carry'd it to *Antioch*, where he kept it all the while he stay'd there. But going to preach in *Bitinia*, he left the Relick with some of his most trusty friends still at *Antiochia*, where it was publickly ador'd for the space of three hundred years, till *Julian* the Apostate attempted to abolish

abolish the worship and memory of Martyrs, burning what remain'd of them. Particularly, he caus'd this hand to be thrown into the fire; but the piety of particular persons sav'd it from the fury of the *Pagans* at that time.

In the time of *Justinian* the Emperor, to honour the Consecration of *Santa Sophia*, the head of St. *John* was by the Emperour's command fetch'd from *Edessa*, and the hand from *Antioch*; though he return'd them again after the Consecration was over. But in the time of *Constantine Porphyrogenites*, an Emperour, that was mighty devout, and had a huge fancy for this Relick, one *Job*, a Deacon of *Antioch*, stole this hand to present to the Emperour, who put it in the Church of St. *John*, of the Stone, where it remain'd till the time of *Mahomet* the second, who remanded it into the Imperial Treasure with other Relicks and rich shrines, out of which *Bajizet* took it to present to the Grand Master, who laid it up with great ceremony at *Rhodes*. These

These Marks of affection which the *Ottoman* Emperour shew'd to the Grand Master, open'd the eyes of the *Soldan* of *Egypt*. That *Barbarian* had violated the Peace without any pretence, as we have said; and his perfidiousness carry'd him so far, as to stop the *Rhodians*, who traffick'd under the publick faith at *Alexandria*, and in other places of his Dominions. But now he began to alter his behaviour, when he saw the good correspondence which was between the Port and the Order of St. *John*. The fear he had, lest the Knights should take a fresh revenge, made him before-hand in appeasing them. To that end he sent an Embassadour to *Rhodes* with rich presents, and a very civil Letter, wherein he blam'd his past proceedings, and accus'd the folly he had committed. *Duan Aga*, for that was the Embassadour's name, did the best he could to enhance the value of his Master's presents and excuses. He promis'd solemnly an inviolable fidelity, and offer'd all sorts of Pledges for performance.

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formance. Whatever resentment the Grand Master had of the Injuries of *Cairbei*, he said nothing then: for though he made little account of his promises; and judg'd of the future by what was past, he thought it not amiss to make his advantage of the present; and that which made him determine it the rather was, because he had intelligence, that *Bajazet* notwithstanding all his publick and specious demonstrations of Amity, had an inveterate enmity against the Order, not only because it protected his Brother *Lizim*, but also because he had oblig'd him to quit his design upon *Italy*. So that the little reliance which the Grand Master had upon the *Turkish* Faith, made him renew a peace with one that was openly perjur'd.

Now because the advice which they daily receiv'd at *Rhodes* of the ill intentions of *Bajazet*, were every day confirm'd, the Grand Master thought it necessary to precaution himself against whatever might happen. He sent Barks into *Sicily* and the

the Kingdom of *Naples* for Corn; he also made use of the seeming friendship of the Grand Signior, to fetch all sorts of grain out of the most fertile Countries of *Turky*, before the *Ottoman* Court had laid aside its Vizor, and had openly brok'n with the Order, he gave command at the same time to lade the great Ship of the Treasury, then upon the Coasts of *Provence*, with ammunition and souldiers, and that a great Vessel of *Ragusa*, then in the Port of *Rhodes*, should sail to *Samos* for wood proper to build the Ships and Engines of War. As for the fortifications, besides that he made all the ditches wider and larger; he rais'd new works toward the Sea, and among the rest a Ravelin that extended from the Tower of *Naylac*, to the Bulwark of *France*.

But while the Knights prepar'd for War in the midst of a profound Peace, *Sixtus* the fourth dy'd in the heat of the troubles of *Rome*, which the *Colonna's* and *Ursini* had divided into two Factions.

The

The Cardinal of *Santa Cecilia*, a *Genoese*, and of the house of *Cybo*, but originally of *Rhodes*, as being the place where his Father was born, succeeded *Sixtus* in the Government of the Church, by the name of *Innocent the Eighth*. He was no sooner elected, but he wrote to the Grand Master in such terms as shew'd a particular esteem for his person. Among other things he exhorted him to maintain generously the interest of the holy See, to shew himself an example to Christian Princes, and at last assur'd him of his favour. *The Order*, said the Pope in his Brief, *of which you are the Chief, is more dear to me then ever; and if God favour our designs, you shall alwaies find me ready to oblige you in whatever concerns yours, or the honour of the Order.*

The Grand Master receiv'd this Letter like a true Son of the Church; and presently sent his Embassadors to *Rome* to tender his obedience to the new Pope. *Edward de Carmandin*, Bayly of *Lango*, and *Will: Caoursin*,
Vice

Vice Chancellour of the Order were the chief of the Embassy; who made their entry into *Rome*, with an extraordinary Pomp, and five days after had audience of the Pope, in the presence of all the Princes, Embassadors, and a great number of prelates. *Cabuerſin*, in that renowned assembly made a speech full of piety and eloquence. He first acknowledg'd the authority of the holy See, and *Innocent* for the Vicar of Christ, and *Peters* successor. Then in particular he declar'd the Grand Master's joy for the election of his Holiness, and the hopes which the *Rhodians* had to see Christianity flourish under the pontificate of a Pope so zealous for the Christian faith. After that he recounted the victories which the Knights had obtain'd against the infidels, particularly in the last siege of *Rhodes*. And lastly he offer'd his Holiness the service of the Knights, assuring him that they should esteem themselves happy to spend their blood to the last drop in the defence of the Holy See.

X

The

The Pope return'd an answer himself to *Caoursin's* speech. Wherein after he had in general terms extold the valour and zeal of the Knights, he dilated upon the merits of the Grand Master, and confess'd that the Church was infinitely oblig'd to him. The next week the Embassadours had a particular conference with the Pope, at what time they presented to him a precious stone of an extraordinary figure and colour, several exquisite perfumes, and a rich Vase full of pure Indian Balsom. But the Pope who desir'd nothing more then to restore peace to *Italy*, and who fear'd nothing more then an invasion of the Infidels, turn'd his discourse upon *Zizim*, and told the Embassadours that for the good of Christendom it seem'd very necessary that he should be brought to *Rome*, or to some other City of the Ecclesiastick estate.

The Embassadours not having any commission in that particular, they could return no answer, only that they would signify his Holiness's pleasure to

to the Grand Master. However they receiv'd several favours before their departure, & had the honour to carry his Canopy upon the purification of the Virgin, with the Embassadors of *Naples, Milan, and Florence*. But as a particular grace to the Order, he granted to the Prior of the Church of *Rhodes* a power to remit all sins which are reserv'd to the Holy See, to alter vows, to absolve from oaths, from Irregularity and Simony. He gave them liberty also to have a portative Altar to say Mass either by Sea or Land, as also before day, and in places forbidden by Ecclesiastical censure.

In the mean time the King of *Naples*, who after the death of *Sixtus*, was terribly afraid lest the *Venetians* should molest his dominions, and that the *Turk* should come to revenge their quarrel, desir'd more earnestly than ever to have *Zizim* in his possession. To which purpose he wrote new Letters to *Rhodes*, which he deliver'd to the Ambassadors who pass'd through *Naples* in their return home.

X 2

But

But while *Innocent* and *Ferdinand* demanded *Zizim* from the Grand Master, the *Soldan* of *Egypt* urg'd the same request. *Caerbei* had intelligence that the Great *Turk* was about to enter *Caramania* with a powerful Army to punish *Caraman*. So that he was afraid lest the *Turks* should soon after carry their arms into *Syria*; and he knew no other expedient to stop *Bajazet*, then to oppose *Zizim* against him. But the arrival of the Bailly of *Lango*, and the Vice Chancellour of the order drew him out of that perplexity whereinto the Embassadour from *Egypt* had plung'd him; for when he understood the Popes' Intentions, as to what concern'd *Zizim*, he gave the *Soldan's* Embassadour to understand that the Sovereign Priest of Christendom having a designe to send for the *Ottoman* Prince to *Rome*, the Knights could not dispose of his person nor determine any thing without the consent of the Holy Sec, to which the order of *St. John* was particularly subject. In the same man-
dinand,

ner he excus'd himself to King *Ferdinand*, accompanying his excuse with many civilities, not being willing to displease a Prince whom he could not gratify, yet desir'd to serve. But in regard he knew the Pope was not able with his forces alone to undertake any considerable enterprize; and believing withal, that should he send *Zizim* into the Ecclesiastical state, he should put an obstacle to the Holy league through the jealousies which the Christian Princes would be subject to apprehend, he represented to his Holiness withal the earnestness and respect that might be, that he could not let go *Zizim* without exposing Christendom to manifest misfortunes. That such a change would give suspicion to *Bajazet*, and enforce him perhaps to put to Sea, and land in *Italy*. He added also that the Invasion of the Infidels was very much to be fear'd, before all *Europe* was first united against them. However that he would submit the affair to his Holiness whose prudence and justice he very well understood.

It was about this time that the Grand Master did a very eminent piece of service for the *Genoeses* in protecting for them the Island of *Scio*, which was under their subjection, by the gift of *Andronicus Paleologus*, after they had restor'd him to his throne. For *Francis de Medicis* scour'd all the Levant Seas with a well arm'd Galliot, and had taken considerable prizes from the *Turks* near the *Island* of *Scio*. The parties concern'd complain'd to the Cady of *Tire*, who was a person of great credit in the *Ottoman* Port, and order'd their business so well, either by presents or false testimonies, that the *Mahomet* Judge condemn'd the people of the Island to make good all the losses which the *Turks* had sustain'd, as if the Islanders had shar'd with the Galliot, because the Captain had taken in fresh provisions in the Island. The Grand Signior also confirms the *Cadi's* sentence. But to chastize the Island the more severely, which at *Constantinople* was accounted a Receptacle for Thieves and Pirates,

Pirates, he laid upon them a most enormous tax, and threatn'd the Islanders with ruin, if they did not speedily pay it down. The inhabitants resolv'd to justify themselves at the Port, and to represent humbly to the Grand Signior their inability to pay such great sums. But the *Barbarian* would hearken neither to their reasons nor their prayers, and commanded his Vassels to go and sack *Scio*.

The Islanders had bin lost without hope, if the wisest of the Company had not adviz'd them to have recourse to the Grand Master. There upon they earnestly besought him to be their protectour at such a time of calamity wherein only his authority could save them.

The Grand Master hated, too much, injustice and violence, to suffer the oppression of a poor people that were altogether Innocent, and were not in a condition to defend themselves. Thereupon he wrote to the Port, and did it so effectually, that *Bajazet* cancell'd the Judgment, and remit-

The History of
 red the Tax which himself had imposed.

Cardinal *Paul Fregosa*, Duke of *Genoa* immediately return'd thanks to the Grand Master in a very civil Letter. But the Lords *Monefi*, who were the chief in *Scio*, and happen'd to be at *Genoa* at the same time, deputed Signior *Lanfranco Patera*, a person of quality and merit to carry him a testimony of their Gratitude. It was a Bason and Eure of Gold of exquisite workmanship, on which these Latine words were graven.

Dominorum Chii Reverendissimo Petro D'Aubusson, MAGNO MAGISTRO RHODI, DE SE OPTIME MERITO DONVM.

Much

Much about the same time the Grand Master receiv'd Intelligence of the death of *Charlota de Lusignan* Queen of *Cyprus* and *Armenia*. This unfortunate Princess was constrain'd to quit *Rhodes*, and travel to *Rome*, as I have already said in the beginning of this History. Pope *Sixus* the fourth receiv'd her magnificently, and undertook her interest very zealously; so that he perswaded the chief of the Island more then once to acknowledg her for their Sovereign Queen. The Letters from his Holiness were read publickly at *Nicosia* before the Church of *Santa Sophia*, and made so deep an Impression upon their spirits, that the people took Arms, ran in throngs to the Pallace, and massacr'd the Uncles of *Katherine Cornara*, who were accus'd to have poyson'd *James* of *Lusignan* her husband. But the *Venetians* by whose authority *Katherine* reign'd, or rather who rul'd under the name of *Katherine*, appeas'd the sedition and quickly master'd it.

Charlota seeing that all the sollicita-

licitations of the Pope, produc'd no good for her, went to *Lewis* her husband in *Piemont*. The Lord of *Montjeu*, whom the Duke of *Burgundy* sent Embassadour to *Venice*, gave a visit to *Lewis* and *Charlota* at *Montcalier*, where they liv'd, and promis'd them according to the Instructions he had receiv'd from his Master, to represent their rights to the Senate. But all his Remonstrances proving ineffectual, the Princess return'd to *Rome*, and there settl'd herself after the death of *Lewis*, who piously ended his days in a kind of solitude, whither he was retir'd. She superviv'd him some years, and during her widowhood she gave the Kingdom of *Cyprus* to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* her Nephew, to whom it otherwise belong'd by the articles of marriage between *Charlota* and *Lewis*. This Donation was solemnly made to the procuratours of *Charles*, of the number of which was the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and by virtue of this Act it is, that the Dukes of *Savoy* take upon them the Title of

of Kings, and pretend to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*.

The news of her death sensibly greiv'd the Grand Master, who had always lookt upon her as one of the most accomplish'd Princesses of the world,

In the mean time the Emperour of the *Turks*, having rais'd a numerous Army, and made himself Master almost without any trouble of those Provinces that were left the Grand *Caraman*, he turn'd his Arms against *Syria* and *Egypt*, incens'd at the *Soldan*, for that he had with disdain deny'd him the wife and children of *Zizim*. For how false soever he were in other respects, he was faithful in that, out of I know not what fantastick piece of honesty; which shews us that men are sometimes contrary to themselves, and that the wicked, like mad men, have their lucid Intervals.

Now, though the preparations all over *Turky* seem'd only to bend against the Dominions of *Cairbei*, yet the King of *Hungary* took the Alarm.

rum. And as thunder when at first it begins to grumble in the clouds, seems to threaten most they that hear it nearest; this Prince probably thought the Tempest would fall upon him, if he took not care in time to divert it. Yet as great a Souldier, and as a Potent as *Matthias* was, he thought that the Grand Master would be a necessary assistance to him; for which purpose he sent to him *Pauli de Rhetas*, his Secretary and his favourite.

Rhetas declar'd at the first Audience which he had at *Rhodes*, that the King of *Hungary* was resolv'd to make War against the *Turks*, and in prosecution thereof, neither to spare his treasure, nor his life; and therefore desir'd to joyn his Arms with those of the Knights of *St. John*, but above all to follow the Counsels of the Grand Master in an enterprize of so much hazard and difficulty. The *Hungarian* Embassadeur likewise added, that his Master had private correspondence with the Grandees of the Port, that several *Basha's* had

had resolv'd to forsake *Bajazet's* Party, so soon as *Zizim* should appear upon the Confines of *Hungary*, and at the head of the *Hungarian* Troops. That the interest of Christendom requir'd that he should send the *Ottoman* Prince in all haste; and that it was a favour which a King illustrious for his piety and his valour requested from the most generous Knights in the world.

The Proposal of *Rhetas* seem'd rational to the Grand Master and his Council. But there are certain nice conjunctures wherein the wisest of men cannot follow sometimes neither the common Rules of Prudence, nor their own particular Judgments. Though to all outward appearances, and upon a serious consideration of the bottom of things, it had been but reason to have trusted *Zizim* with the King of *Hungary*; yet the engagement which oblig'd the Grand Master to keep the Prince by vertue of the Treaty of Peace made with the Port, according to the Prince's own desire, and the fear of offending his Holiness, were the

the cause that the *Hungarian* Embassador could obtain no other answer than a handsom denial. However, the Grand Master wrote to the King: and after he had insisted a while in particular upon the Advantage which Christendom might receive from the person of *Zizim*, in case that *Bajazet* should make any attempt against the Treaty, he told him that it being impossible for any War to be carried on against the *Turk*, without a firm league between the Christian Princes, it belonged to the common Pastor of the Church to assemble them together.

That such sort of enterprises seldom prosper'd, unless upheld by the Authority of the Church; and lastly, that if the *Ottoman* Prince were to leave *France*, he could be no where better then at *Rome*, where he would be in the view of all Christendom. neither too far off, nor too near the Estates of the Grand Signior.

The Conquest which *Bajazet* had made of *Caria*, and of other Provinces of the Grand *Caraman*, made the
the

the *Soldan* to believe that after he had refus'd to *Bajazet* the Wife and Children of *Zizim*, that he was certainly to expect the *Turkish* Army at his own doors. And therefore whatever strength the *Cairbie* had, he thought himself but weak without the assistance of the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*. For that reason, to engage them to his Interests he dispatch'd to *Rhodes*, *Riccio de Marini*, a Gentleman of *Cyprus*, and the same person who formerly came to serve *Queen Charlotta* against the Republick of *Venice*. *Marini* had Instructions to declare to the Knights that the advantages which they had gain'd in so many encounters against the *Turks*, put the *Soldan*, in hopes of a happy success, provided they would embrace his quarrel, and that he should think himself invincible, if he could but have Prince *Zizim* at the head of his Troops.

The Grand Master sensible of the generous proceeding of *Cairbei* toward *Zizim*, almost forgot the ill usage which the *Rhodians* had receiv'd

ceiv'd at his hands ; and therefore he very civilly testified to his Embassadour, that he was very much troubl'd that the present condition of the *Rhodian* Affairs would not permit him to assist *Egypt*. That the Knights of *Rhodes* had made a peace with the *Turks*, and that they alwaies religiously observ'd the faith of Treaties. But in regard the Grand Master desir'd nothing more then to see two potent enemies of Christianity destroy one another, he added that since the refusal of *Zizim's* Wife and Children, was the only cause of *Bajazet's* anger, it was his advice that the *Soldan* should go on with the War, not doubting but that Heaven would favour so just a Cause as his. As for *Zizim*, whom the *Soldan* requested, he told the Embassadour at length, that he could conclude nothing without advice from *Rome*. But that he would write to the Pope, and signify to him that the *Soldan* had provok'd *Bajazet* to make War upon him only for detaining and preserving the Wife and Children

Children of *Zizim*; unwilling to sacrifice to his Brothers fury what *Zizim* had most dear in the world.

The Grand Master's answer satisfi'd the *Egyptians*, and rais'd their courages, which the defeat of the Grand *Caraman*, their neighbour, had almost dejected. For the *Ottoman* Army consisting of a hundred thousand men, being got by several ways into *Caramania*, and having quarter'd themselves between *Pyramus*, the *Sar* and *Cidnus* near the old Castle of *Adena*, and the ruins of the ancient City of *Tarsus*, the *Egyptian* forces, that were not above fifty thousand strong, presented themselves in view of the *Turks* upon the banks of *Pyramus*, after they had cross'd with an extraordinary swiftness the famous streights that separate *Syria* from *Caramania*. The Souldiers that compos'd the *Egyptian* Army, were call'd *Corcassian Mamalucks*, all Christians that had renounc'd their Religion, or else never profess'd any, being ravish'd from their Mothers breasts, and bred

Y

up

up in War from their Infancy. The Eunuch *Basha*, General of the *Turkish* Army, gave them no time to rest, but attack'd them with fifty thousand Horse before they had time to understand the Ground. It was in one of those plains that extend to the Mountain *Aman*, and where *Alexander* defeated *Darius*, that the Captain of the *Spahi's* having pass'd the *Pyramus* over the Bridge of *Adena*, went on to assail the *Mamalukes*. Wearied as they were, they bore with an extraordinary vigour the first brunt, and fell on with such fury, that the Assailants were forc'd to defend themselves. After an obstinate fight which Night parted, the *Mamalukes* remain'd Masters of the Field. Above thirty thousand *Turks* were slain upon the place, the rest sav'd themselves in the Mountains, or else retir'd to the Castle of *Adena*, which they had fortifi'd a little before, though it were taken soon after by the Victors.

But that which made this victory more compleat was, that the same day,

day, ten Gallies which *Achmat Basba*, the Grand Signiours Son in Law, and Admiral at Sea, had sent from the rest of the fleet to wait the Coast of *Syria*, were overtaken by a furious tempest, and dash'd against the Rocks. This misfortune constrain'd *Achmat* to return to *Constantinople* with the rest of the fleet. Passing through the Channel of *Rhodes*, in view of the City, not content to salute the Knights by discharging all his great Guns, he resolv'd to shew their Captain a particular Kindness. For having set up a magnificent *Pavilion* in one of the fairest of his Gallies, adorn'd with a great number of rich Pendants and Banners, he sent a young *Turk* his Favourite, call'd *Osman*, to visit the Grand Master on his behalf. The Gally enter'd the Port with the sound of Trumpets and Drums, mix'd with the joyful acclamations of the *Turks* that attended *Osman*. They were all richly habited, not had they the faces of men that made a shameful retreat. When the young *Turk* came

into the Grand Masters presence, he saluted him after the *Mussulman* fashion, and presented him a Letter wherein the *Basha* made him a thousand protestations of friendship and service. Afterwards having presented him with several stuffs of great value, and several rare pieces of workmanship, he told him with a good grace, that such a small present was not worth the famous Prince of the *Rhodians*. The Grand Master would not be behind either in civility or liberality toward the *Barbarians*; for besides the Caresses and the entertainment which he gave to *Osman*, he sent one of his most Illustrious Commanders with all sort of refreshments for the fleet, and rich presents for himself.

Scarce was *Osman*, who staid not above 3 hour in *Rhodes*, joyn'd with the fleet, but the Grand Master had Intelligence of their defeat, of which he heard not a word from them; the spies which he had in most parts of *Caramania*, and even in the Castle of *Adenia* it self, giving him an exact

accompt hereof. Besides, that the *Soldan* himself, well satisfi'd with the advantage he had won with his own forces, fail'd not in honour of his dignity, to give him a relation himself, as the person who had foretold his success. But this prosperity did not blind *Carrbey*, who knew it was not enough to vanquish, unless he made advantage of his victory. To this purpose he thought that an Embassy to the Pope might produce good effects, and he communicated his thoughts to the Grand Master, not daring to enterprize such a thing without his counsel, nor hoping to obtain his desires without his intercession.

In the mean while the Pope, who made it his business to unite the Christian Princes against the *Turk*, was every day extraordinarily pressing for the removal of *Zizim*, and he began to talk somewhat like a Commander. For how mild and moderate soever *Innocent* might be in his particular conduct, he was jealous of his authority, and would

make himself to be obey'd, when he acted for the publick good. The Grand Master, who knew what obedience he and the rest of the Knights ow'd to the Pope, as head of the Order of St. *John of Jerusalem*, was not desirous to stay for an express command. He therefore gave *Zizim* to understand the intentions of his holiness and finding the Princes inclination, he resolv'd at length to consent to what he could not handsomly avoid.

Besides that policy requir'd that he should gratify his Holiness; other reasons perswaded him to take that course. For the blow that the *Turks* had receiv'd, had put *Constantinople* into an uproar, and weak'n'd the *Ottoman* Empire. *Bajazet* was not in a condition to enterprize any thing against the Christians, being in continual fear of the *Muhometans* after the *Soldan's* victory. He was in hopes that the Christian Princes would open their eyes upon such a fortunate conjuncture, and that they would league themselves against the

the common enemy, when they saw *Sultan Zizim* in the hands of the common Father of the faithful; besides that *Innocent* had good intentions, and only design'd to have *Zizim* in *Italy*, not pretending to have him at his disposal. *Zizim* also himself began to be aweary of solitude, and design'd to change his residence.

All these considerations engag'd him to send to *Rome* the Bailly of the *Morea*, and the Vice-Chancellour of the Order, with an ample procuration as to this affair. The Embassadors being arriv'd, and having had audience of the Pope consented to the removal of *Zizim*, provided the King of *France* did not oppose it, and that the Knights of *Rhodes* might always attend him. *Charles* the 8th, who stood in need of the Pope for the Conquest of *Naples*, readily consented to his Holiness's desire, who wrote very urgent Letters to him for that purpose. And the Pope easily granted what the Knights requested, being perswaded of the

good Intentions of the Grand Master, and only as he did, aiming at the publick benefit.

Thus the Commander *Blanche fort*, in his absence elected Marshal of the Order, and Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, brought away *Zizim* from the commandery of *Burgneuf*, according to the Letters directed to him from the Grand Master. The Prince was conducted by land to *Marseilles*, where the Great Ship of the Order attended him. By the way, he testifi'd more then once, that he was very glad he was going to *Rome*, after six years stay in *France*, and he requested the Knights not to forsake him. The voyage was not very fortunate; for never did the Sea of *Genoa* rage more, as if the winds had endeavour'd to drive *Zizim* back from the coasts of *Italy*. Nevertheless, maugre the storm, he arriv'd at *Civita Vecchia*, the sixth of *March*. 1489.

1489

Leonard Cybo, the Popes Kinsman, was come to receive the Prince, and he acquitted himself very well of

of his commission : Putting into the hands of the grand Prior *Blanchefort* the Castle of the Town, which was appointed for the lodging of *Zizim*; in order to the promise which the Pope had made to the *Rhodian* Embassadors.

The Pope was very joyful for the arrival of the *Turkish* Prince; which inspir'd him with new thoughts of kindness for the Grand Master; that appear'd publicly three days after; for the Pope honour'd him with a Cardinals Cap in a new promotion upon the ninth of *March*. He gave him the Title of *St. Adrian*; and to render his purple more illustrious, he added to it by his express Bulls the Title of Legate General of the holy See in *Asia*.

The Cardinal *D'Angers*, venerable for his Age, and for his virtue as well as for his Purple; and in whom fortune shews that a low extraction sometimes serves to exalt great Merit; went to meet *Zizim* twelve miles out of *Rome*, with Prince *Francis Cybo* the Son of *Innocent*, who had bin marry'd

ry'd before he entr'd into holy Orders, and Son in law to the famous *Laurence de Medici*. They saluted the Prince in the name of the Pope, and in such termes, as testifi'd no less affection for his person, then respect to his birth, and taking upon him themselves to be his guide, they brought him straight to *Rome*.

Dominico Doria, Captain of the Popes Guards, stay'd for him on horseback without the City, accompani'd by a great number of considerable persons without the City, near the Gate of *St. Sebastian*; that being the Gate through which the Prince made his entry. The *Turks* who serv'd him, and all his other *Domesticks* march'd first; the *Cardinals* Gentlemen next to them, follow'd by all the *Roman* Nobility, that never were more lively, nor better mounted. Then appear'd *Doria* at the head of his light horse, follow'd by the Knights of *Rhodes*, after whom rode the Embassadors of the several Princes, all but of *France* who with Prince *Francis Cybo*, the Grand Prior

Prior *Blanchefort*, and the Senator of *Rome* immediately preceded *Zixim*. He rode alone, mounted upon a stately horse, which he manag'd with a comly Grace. He was clad, as usually the *Turkish* Emperours are upon solemn days. His countenance was haughty and majestic, which being temper'd with a sweet melancholy, attracted all at once respect, compassion and love. His Holiness steward follow'd behind with an innumerable company of Prelates that belong to the Popes house. And in this order they came to the Vatican.

The Cardinal of *Angers*, who had taken his leave with in two miles of the Town upon pretence of going to advertise the Pope of his approach, but indeed because he would not be one of the *Cavalcade*, either because of his dignity or his age, met him at the Gate of the place, and conducted him to the apartment of Pope *Clement*, where the Grand Master *Raymund Lacoſta* held a General Chapter of the Order under the

the Pontificate of *Paul* the 2d.

The day following the Grand Præ-
or de Blanchefort, and the Embassa-
 dours of *France*, conducted him to
 his audience of the Pope in a full
 consistory. They had advertiz'd
 him that it was the custom to kiss
 the feet of his Holiness, and the
 greatest Kings in the World thought
 it no dishonour to condescend so
 far. But he had much ado to
 stoop to that condescention; and
 some say that all he could be brought
 to, was to bow to kiss the Popes
 hand. He saluted the Cardinals af-
 ter a manner that was neither hum-
 ble nor disdainful, but as became a
 person of so high an extraction.
 Though he were born eloquent, and
 at other times spake very fluently,
 yet he only spoke four or five words
 very briskly, and those in *Turkish*,
 whether it were that the luster of so
 famous an assembly dazeld him, or
 whether he thought it below the
 Majesty of an *Ottoman* Prince to
 make a long discourse. *George Faxi*
 a *Rhodian* his interpreter declar'd,
 that

that he only said, he was extremely glad to see *Rome*.

Innocent, whose head was full of high designs, and who aim'd at no less than to free the Orient from the Tyranny of the Infidels, promis'd to himself a most happy success, at the sight of *Sultan Lirim*, and believ'd that the Son of *Mahomet* was sent him from Heav'n to be serviceable to him; for that purpose the Embassy also which he receiv'd at the same time from the *Soldan of Egypt*, strengthen'd his hopes. For *Cairbei*, at the perswasion of the Grand Master did homage to the Holy See, and engaging to enter into the Holy League, promis'd to set forth the most puissant Army that ever march'd out of *Egypt*.

His Holiness was so sensible of these high services of the Grand Master, that to manifest to all the world how much he was satisfi'd, and to bestow upon him in particular the solid marks of his favour, he granted him an extraordinary priviledg, so much the more considerable; be-
cause

cause he parted from his own right in granting it.

The Popes in possession were to provide for several benefices of the Order of *Rhodes* and they claim'd that right by the authority which they have in general over all Religious Orders, and in particular over that of *St. John of Jerusalem*. This right did *Innocent* renounce by a consistorial Bull sign'd by all the Cardinals, depriving the See of ever conferring any commandery of the Order, though the benefice should happen to be vacant in the Court of *Rome*, and declaring withal by the same Bull, that the disposal of all commanderies absolutely belong'd to the Grand Master, without being compriz'd under such benefices as the Popes had reserv'd, or might hereafter reserve.

He also granted to the Grand Master the power absolutely to dispose of the benefices and military Revenue of the Holy Sepulcher, and *St. Lazarus*, uniting those Orders again to that of *St. John of Jerusalem*.

and by an express Bull, wherein his Holiness himself made a particular Elogium upon the Grand Master and the Knights.

The Grand Master who now began to intitle himself Cardinal, Grand Master, was extremely sensible of all these favours which he never requested, and believ'd to be above his merit, accomprizing as nothing what he had done, and daily accusing himself that he had not fulfill'd the duties of his calling and his trust. He solemnly receiv'd the Cap in the Church of St. John Baptist upon St. Peter and Paul's day; and he was at the same time proclaim'd Universal Legat of the See in *Africa*.

These favours and new dignities put the Grand Master upon new cares and assiduities. And in regard the revenues of the Order were very much encreas'd by the addition of the Orders of the Holy Sepulcher and St. *Lazarus*, he appli'd himself presently to the settlement of the treasury; and he made very wise laws for the good government of the publick revenue

venue, as may be seen in the Book of the statutes of the Order. He made other laws touching elections and Sentences, which are observ'd to this day, full of prudence and Justice.

But the peaceable state of affairs, together with new accessions of wealth and plenty, gave the Master opportunity to rebuild the ruin'd Churches, and among others that of *St. Anthony*, which was the burying place for the Knights, and which he himself had caus'd to be pull'd down for the safety of the City. It was built in another place much more magnificent then before.

Some years ere that he had founded a Chappel under the Name of the Holy Virgin, in the Church of *Monteil-au Viconte*, the place of his birth; but understanding that the building remain'd unfinish'd, he assign'd a certain stock of mony to go on with the work, and perfect it. He also founded several others in the Island of *Rhodes*, and one in the Church of *Mount Palermus*, to increase the devotion of the people. But

But these were not the principal Employments of the Cardinal Grand Master; for when he saw himself cloth'd with the Purple Robe, he thought himself more than ever oblig'd to serve the Holy See, as he had suddenly several important occasions to do.

It is impossible to imagine what was the extreme surprize and disconsolation of *Bajazet*, when he understood, that his Brother was at *Rome*. He had understood before, that such a design was in hand; and because there was nothing that he feared more, to send off that blow, he made great offers to *Charles* the 8th. Besides that he promised him all the Relicks that his Father had found in *Constantinople*, and in other Cities of *Europe* and *Asia*, he engaged to send him all his Forces for the recovery of the Holy Land, which was under the Dominion of the Soldan of *Egypt*, and to pay him what-ever he demanded for the maintenance of *Zixim*. But these propositions took no effect;

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for *Zizim* was not in France when the Ambassadors arrived.

The Grand Seignior's vexation redoubled, when he understood what Confederacies the Pope and the Soldan had made together. He loudly complained of the Conduct of the Grand Master; and by an express Ambassador, he bloodily reproached, even to threaten him, that he would never observe any Laws of Civility with men, that did not keep their word. As fierce as the Grand Master was, he did not always give way to his Passion; for when affairs required moderation, there was no person more tractable, nor more condescending than he. Therefore to appease *Bajazet* at a time when it was not for the good of Christendom to exasperate him, he gave him to understand, That the removal of *Zizim* did not at all injure the Treaty of Peace, the Tenor of which was, in respect of the Sultan, That the Knights should be answerable for his Person, and should do their utmost, that he

he should not fall into the hands of any Prince. He assur'd him, that *Zizim* was in *Italy*, under the Guard of the Knights of *Rhodes*, as he was in *France*, and that no Prince could call himself Master of his Person. He added also, That the change of his Residence was by the absolute order of those whom the Knights were bound to obey. Besides, that this change, if rightly consider'd, had nothing in it but what was advantageous to the Port: That *Charles* the Eighth, a Person of great designs, might have taken *Zizim* out of the Commanderie of *Bourgneuf*, when-ever he had had occasion to make use of him; whereas being in the Pope's power, he could make no advantage of him. In regard that not having a power sufficient of himself, it was absolutely necessary for him to joyn with other Princes; if he intended to carry a War out of *Italy*. That an Union was a difficult affair, and such a one as required long time, as being oftentimes crossed by the jealousies

The History of
of Princes ; and at this time impos-
sible, because of their divisions.

The Grand Master declared moreover, That *Bajazet* had nothing to fear, while he kept himself quiet ; but the least motion against *Italy* would awake all the Princes of Christendom, and enforce them to an Union against him. That now the best course he could take, was, to manage his business in *Italy*, to break the Correspondencies of the Soldan. That an Ambassador of the Port would be well received at *Rome*, and that he was onely there to seek for the success of his affairs.

The Grand Seignior, who was not then in a condition to be revenged for the breach of word, which he pretended, and found probability enough in the Grand Master's Reasons, never stood long to consider what he had to do: He resolved to be quiet, and to follow the counsel which had been given him touching an Embassie to *Rome*. But that he might know more exactly what he had to say to the
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Pope; and after what manner he should proceed, sent another Ambassador to the Grand Master. This Negotiation continued several months, in which time there were nothing but continual Voyages from *Constantinople* to *Rhodes*. The Grand Master however put no confidence in these Embassies, but expected a Rupture, so soon as *Bajazet* should have an opportunity to display his secret hatred against the Knights; and therefore that the Pope might have time to make a League between the Christian Princes, he spun out affairs as much as he could, either by creating difficulties, which perplexed the Grand Seignior, or by giving ambiguous Answers, which were unsatisfactory.

While things thus passed between the Knights and the Turks, one of the Popes Legates had like to have spoiled all by his imprudence. *Philip de Canova*, whom the Pope sent to the Soldan, being arrived at *Caire*, publickly declared very idly, and without any ground, That the

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Knights

Knights of *Rhodes* had no power in the affair of *Zizim*. He spoke this so openly, and upon so many occasions, that the report thereof came to the Port. This news cool'd the Grand Seignior as to any further Negotiation with *Rhodes*, now growing jealous that the Knights did but abuse him; and it had come to an open War, had not the Grand Master dextrously reconcil'd what the Legat had spoil'd: He declar'd so loudly the contrary, and by the Popes Letters themselves so well over-turn'd the falsity that *Canova* had averr'd, that, in a short time, he regain'd the former confidence which *Bajazet* had in him. The Negotiation was renew'd, and it was on both sides agreed, that the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, who was come to *Rhodes*, to be present at the General Chapter, and was to return to *Zizim*, should conduct the Ambassador of the Port, that was to go to *Rome*.

An act so dextrous, and so successful, soon made a noise over
Europe,

Europe, and very much advanc'd the Reputation of the Grand Master; He was the discourse of all the Courts of *Europe*, and his name was so famous in that of *Castile*, that a young Lady of eminent Quality, having forsaken the World, admiring what she had heard of the prudence and virtue of Cardinal *D' Aubusson*, resolv'd to found a Nunnery according to his Model of the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*: To which purpose, she requested leave of the Cardinal; who over-joy'd to see such pious and virtuous inclinations in a young Lady, readily condescended. Thereupon the Lady, whose name was *Isabella di Leon*, descended from one of the most ancient Families in *Andaloufia*, founded a House of Religious Virgins, of the Order of *St. John of Jerusalem*; and the Founder was named Princess by the Grand Master, the Nuns are to be all of Noble Race, and to be approved as the Knights are; and they are particularly to pray for the Knights, and, as much as in

them lies, to forward the ruine of *Mahumetism*, and the exaltation of the Faith. *Isabella Fernandes* founded also another House of Nuns in *Evora*, a City of *Portugal*, in the time of *Villerius*, Grand Master.

But to return to *Bajazet*, *Chamshuerch* his *Capigi-Basha*, his Ambassador to the Pope, arrived at *Rome*, and was presented to his Holiness by the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, who accompani'd him to the City. The Grand Master, when he counsell'd the Embassie, advis'd the Grand Seignior to make a Present to the Pope, and above all things to send him the Head of the Lance that pierced the side of Christ, which *Mahumet* laid up in in his Treasury among the rich Spoils which he found in the Churches of *Constantinople*. The Relick was suspected at first, but upon the testimony of the Grand Master, the Infidels were believed, who testifi'd, that he had had it from very credible persons, that the *Venetians* had offered *Mahomet* 15000 Crowns in Gold,

Gold to retrieve it out of his hands, after the taking of *Constantinople*.

But in regard it was the intention of the Grand Seignior wholly to gain the Pope, he added to his Present very obliging Letters, wherein, after he had given him an account of an Expedition which he had made against the Rebels of *Macedonia*, he swore an inviolable friendship with him, and besought him, that his Brother *Zizim* might always remain under the Guard of the Knights of *Rhodes*, according to the Articles he had made with them.

These submissions of *Bajazet* very much pleased the Pope, and were no small honour to the Grand Master: He had a thousand Applauses in *Italy*, and received the Complements of all the Christian Princes. But an unhappy accident did not long permit him quietly to enjoy this Honour; for a young Gentleman, of a good House, who was then in the service of the Knight *Puis*, Bayliff of the *Morea*, and Captain of the Castle of *St. Peter*, stealing
away

away from his Masters House, and having renounced his Religion in Turkey, the Peace was just upon the point of being broken between the Christians and the Turks.

For the Bayliff of the *Morea*, touched to the quick at what had befall'n his Page, took a strange resolution to recover him; he sallies out of the Castle with some Soldiers, and entering into *Lycia*, he takes, by way of Reprisal, two young Turks, Sons of the most considerable person in the Countrey, notwithstanding the resistance made by their Father, whom he slew with his own hand. So violent an act seemed to the Barbarians a visible breach of the Peace. They take Arms, and march directly to the Castle of *St. Peter*, where the Bayliff of the *Morea* was retired with his Prey. The Sultann *Zalabi*, the Grand Seignior's Son, and Governour of *Lycia*, sent an Agent to *Rhodes*, to complain of the Attempt made by the Knights of the Castle of *St. Peter*. The Bayliff's act

act was neither prudent nor just, so that the Grand Master could not but, with sorrow, very much resent it: and he had not stuck a moment to have delivered both the Children back again, but that one of them refused an inclination to turn Christian. But the young *Turk* declaring, that he was resolved to continue a *Mussulman*, and hated the very thought of Christianity, the Governour of *Lydia* was satisfied with the restoration of the two Prisoners.

Thus was the Tranquility of the Province re-settled, nor had the Subjects any thing more to fear, but onely the Rapines of certain Pirates that infested their Coasts; the most famous was *Don Diego Ordonna*, a Spaniard by Nation, a person bold and daring, of a savage humour, and a bestial valour, more barbarous than the Infidels, cruising all Coasts with an Armed Caravel, and acknowledging no Right but Force, nor any God but Interest. He had taken a little before certain Merchants Vessels

sels within sight of *Rhodes*; and his power at Sea was grown so formidable, that the Ships of the Order durst hardly venture out of the Port.

The Grand Master could not brook the Insolencies and Robberies of this *Castilian* Pirate. And knowing that *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, who were then subduing the *Moors*, did not allow a *Castilian* Pirate to be so vexatious to the Christians; he sent against him the Knight *Raymond Thivian* with his Galley, and another Man of War with a Crew of stout Knights; who coming up with this Pirate, plied him so warmly, that he was constrained to yield, after a vigorous resistance: he was brought to *Rhodes* chain'd hand and foot, and afterwards broken alive upon the Wheel; his Goods, that were Confiscated to the Grand Master, were, by his order, distributed to the Merchants that he rob'd.

The Island of *Lango* was, about this time afflicted with several calamities together; a horrible and sud-

sudden Earthquake, that lasted for several days, threw down most part of the houses in the Countrey of *Naranga*; and what was more lamentable, this calamity happen'd in a time, that a dreadful Contagion over-spread the Island. It is not to be imagin'd how much the Grand Master was afflicted for the miseries of these poor people, nor how great his cares were for their relief. He sent two great Vessels, laden with all necessaries, for their support, and caused the Lake of *Naranga* to be speedily cleansed, and the Tyde to be let into it, to carry away the noisome Vapours that might corrupt the air. And so well his pains succeeded, that the Contagion ceas'd so soon as the Lake was cleansed.

But these employments at home, did not make the Grand Master forget his affairs abroad: He continually sollicitated the Pope to pacifie *Italy*; and he besought him still to conclude, with all the speed that might be, a League between the
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Christian Princes. But all these solicitations and prayers took no effect. *Innocent* died of a sudden, and all those hopes that all good men had conceived died with him. The advancement of *Roderic Borgia*, by the name of *Alexander* the Sixth, little avail'd to comfort the Grand Master for the loss which the Church had received. The humour of the new Pope promised little good to Christendom; for there was little good to be expected from a person, who had purchased the Suffrages of the Cardinals to enjoy a place, of which he knew himself unworthy. He had been Protector of the Order of *St. John of Jerusalem* while he was Cardinal, and by a Brief which he sent to the Grand Master, he declar'd, That the Knights of *Rhodes* should still be in his most favourable thoughts. But the Effects were no way answerable to his words. *Alexander* first shewed his Pontifical Authority, by taking into his own possession the Person of Prince *Zizim*, contrary to the Agreement

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ment made between *Innocent* and the Knights. He shut up the *Sultan* the Castle of *St. Angelo*; and dismissing the Knights who had always been about him, put him into the possession of his Nephews, of which one was a Knight of *Rhodes*. His pretence was, that a life so pretious as that of the Prince, would be less exposed to the Ambuscado's of his Enemies in a strong place; and that one Knight of *Rhodes* being near him, the rest were needless in a place that did defend it self: and these excuses he sent by an Express to the Grand Master. But the true motive that induc'd the Pope to this act, was, because that understanding the King of *France* was preparing for an Expedition into *Italy*, he would have wherewithall to cross or promote his designs, as he should judge most proper for his Interests. For *Charles* the VIII. did not onely intend the Conquest of *Naples*; for Fame every where reported, that he was resolved to have carried his Arms into *Greece*. Whether this design

design were onely in thought, or actually intended, I will not dispute; but certain it is, that he communicated it to the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom the Affairs of the Order enforced to travel out of *Italy* into *France*; and he testifi'd several times the earnest desire he had to see the Grand Master, that he might consult with him about a Voyage beyond the Seas.

Lizim was extremely displeas'd to see himself in the hands of *Alexander*, and under the Guard of his Nephews, being always accusom'd to the Knights who had accompani'd him both in *France* and *Italy*. As they had always great respect for him, and, in serving him, had always sought to make his condition more pleasant; he lov'd them tenderly, and could not chuse but shed tears when he took his leave of them. He did for them all that lay in the power of his Fortune; he wrote to the Grand Master in their behalf, representing to him the value of their services, and assuring him,

him, that what ever favours he bestowed upon them, he would put upon his own account, as done to himself. He besought him likewise not to abandon an unfortunate person, who ow'd his life to him, and from whom he could only hope for a change of his condition.

In the mean while, *Charles* the 8th. pass'd the Mountains at the head of all the Gallantry and Stoutness in his Kingdom; and having cross'd, like a Victor, the half of *Italy*, he march'd on, and presented himself before *Rome*. The Pope, of whom he only demanded passage through his Countrey, was afraid lest, under that pretence, he should make himself Master of the City; but the presence of so great an Army would not permit him to listen to his fear, he granted what he could not refuse. And though the King, by a publick *Manifesto*, declar'd, that he only came to *Rome* to accomplish a Vow that he had made, and that he only went to *Naples* in his way to *Constantinople*,
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yet he gave no credit to his words.

For *Alexander*, who had no kindness at all for the *French*, and had disoblig'd them upon several occasions, easily imagin'd, according to his Principles, that they would not lose so fair an opportunity to revenge themselves. But as he had a nimble craft, he sought always to give them satisfaction, and condescended to what-ever they desir'd. He gave the young Conquerour the Investiture of both *Sicilies*, and Crown'd him Emperour of *Constantinople*. Besides that, he deliver'd into his hands Sultan *Zizim*, whom the King had chiefly requested, out of a design to pursue his Conquests into the East, after he had master'd *Naples*. The *Ottoman* Prince was surrender'd to the *French* by a solemn Act; and with a publick Ceremony, where *Alexander* and *Charles* were present. He saluted *Charles* after such a manner, as neither bespoke him a Barbarian nor a Prisoner. After he had kiss'd his Shoulder and his Hand, with a lofty Air

Air, he told the King, That he hop'd the French would, in his person, consider the *Ottoman Race*; and added, that when they should cross over into *Greece*, he should find a way to acknowledge their Civilities. *Charles* was ravish'd with admiration of the Great Soul which he saw in the *Sultan*, and treated him with so much Courtesie and Generosity, that *Zizim* testifi'd his joy for being fall'n into the hands of so generous a Monarch.

They departed from *Rome* for *Naples* both together; but the poor Prince, who prepar'd himself to assist the Enterprize of the *French*, and who was in hopes to raise his own Fortune by following theirs, felt himself struck by the way with an unknown distemper, that carri'd him off in a few days. His death surpriz'd all men, and there was great enquiry made into the cause. They that were of the Popes's party reported, that he gave himself too much over to his Pleasures the first days of his liberty, and that he

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kill'd himself with excess of Debauchery. Others say, that the *Venetians* corrupted with money by the *Turks*, and alarm'd at the *French Expedition*, had secretly given him poison. But most accuse the Pope to have deliver'd him poison'd to *Charles the 8th.* to the end that *France* should get no advantage by him; and the report ran, that *Alexander* receiv'd a good sum of money to perform that wicked act.

Reynald. Annal. Ecclesie, An. 1495.

Thus ended the life of *Zizim*, an unfortunate Prince, and yet more illustrious by his Misfortunes then by his Birth. Some think he dy'd a Christian, and that he was Baptiz'd at *Rome* before the death of *Innocent the 8th.* But those Authors, who have spoken most of this Prince, say nothing of his Conversion; which makes me believe, that, to aggravate his misfortunes, he dy'd a *Mahometan*.

* 1492

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
Peter D'Aubuffon,
Grand Master of
RHODES.

Book Sixth.

THe Grand Master, who took very heavily the news of *Zi-zim's* Captivity, could not receive the news of his death without indignation and horroir; and he found himself laden with all the grief that a man could have, for the death of a person so extremely dear

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to him. But when the Interest of Christianity intermix'd with that tenderness, all his Fortitude was little enough to support him from being wholly deprest by an accident so Tragical. He ador'd the profound wisdom of God, that would not suffer the Christians to reap any advantage from the person of the *Ottoman* Prince, and permitted them, who had most interest to preserve him, to be his destroyers. But he admir'd as well the conduct of Providence, that would not give the Infidel liberty to gain any benefit by his death; but to unhinge all their designs, gave Victory to the Triumphant Arms of *France* in *Italy*.

Ferdinand King of *Naples* being dead of an Apoplexy, after *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary*, and Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, who both
 1492 died of the same disease; *Alfonso*, a wicked Prince, hated by the Nobility and People, succeeded his Father; but terrifi'd by the rapid march of the *French*, and fearing besides the dire effects of publick Rage,

Rage, he left his Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, and retir'd into *Sicily*. The new King also follow'd the example of *Alfonso*; and after he had awhile disputed with the *French* the Avenues of the Kingdom, abandon'd it quite; so that the King of *France* made himself Master of the Capital Cities without striking one stroke. All *Turkey* trembled at the progress of the *French* Army, and the terrour was so great at *Constantinople*, that the Priests of the *Mahometan* Religion publicly cry'd out, That the *Turkish* Empire was lost without redemption.

Now before the Forces appointed for the Expedition of *Italy* set out of *France*, *Charles* the 8th, had sent to *Rhodes* the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, to desire the Grand Master to meet him at *Rome*. He also dispatch'd away to him the Commander of *Angers* with very urgent Letters, so soon as he had cross'd the Mountains. More then this, as he earnestly desir'd this Interview, though whether to be truly instru-

sted as to the design he had upon the *Levant*, or to dazzle the World, that it should not be known which way he bended, is uncertain; he desir'd the Pope to write to the Grand Master, and wrote to him also with his own hand. And indeed his Letter was the most civil and engaging in the world: For after that he had declar'd, that he could not live without his counsel, nor enterprize any thing upon the *Levant* but under his Conduct, he conjur'd him to hasten his Voyage, for the reasons which he had declar'd to the Grand Prior *Blanchefort* his Nephew, to whom he had open'd his mind as to a Knight of great prudence, and of absolute experience.

This Letter coming to *Rhodes* before the Grand Prior, whom stress of weather had beaten off from the Island, the Grand Master, who believ'd such flattering expressions could not be sincere; and who saw but small foundations for a design that *France* made such a stir about,

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return'd for answer to the King, That he could not but highly applaud his Majesty's Zeal; That it was too much honour for him to fight under his Banners, or to contribute any thing to the Glory of his Achievements. But in regard the Grand Prior *Blanchefort* had order to declare to him the whole secrets of the Affair, he daily expected to obey his Majesty's Orders.

The King, out of his impatience to see the Grand Master in *Italy*, wrote him a second Letter so soon as he was enter'd *Naples*. He also desir'd Cardinal *Bricconnet*, and Cardinal *de Gurce*, who accompany'd him, and to whom the Pope had given Caps at his instance, to write both of them to the same effect. The first only exhorted him in general terms, not to deny that which was requested of him with so much ardency. The second, who had more zeal, went more home to the business, and after he had given him an account of all that had pass'd

pass'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, desir'd him that he would condescend to be a Tutor to a young Conquerour, who was wholly intent upon the delivery of *Greece*, and whose hopes depended upon the Counsels of a Captain so experienc'd, and so formidable to the Enemies of the Faith. He added, That in that little time that so glorious an Enterprize was delay'd, the opportunity was in danger to be lost. That it was to be fear'd, lest the debaucheries that usually attend upon great Conquests, might corrupt the Courages of the *French* Soldiers; That the sins of Victors might draw upon them the malediction of Heaven; That the Enemies of *France* sow'd jealousies in the minds of the Princes of *Italy*, to engage them to cross the designs of *Charles*; and that all preparations were making to form a League against him. That several, under the pretence of the good of his Kingdom, advis'd him to return into *France*, before he enter'd upon the

the Holy War. The Cardinal at last concluded, That the sole presence of the Grand Master, was enough to stay the King, and to ascertain the Expedition into the *Levant*.

But the Letters of the Cardinals did not work that effect which they expected. The Grand Master was confirm'd by their own reasons, that the Expedition which they projected against the *Turks*, was not an Enterprize that had any solid ground: he was a little distrustful of the inconstancy of the *French*, and the Youth of the Conqueror. Besides, he understood, that the League against *France*, was almost come to a period, and that the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, the *Emperor*, and the King of *Spain* had all entred into it. He had also news at the same time, that the *Turks*, enrag'd at the death of *Zizim*, were setting forth a considerable Fleet, and that the Tempest threatned the Islands of the Order, with whom they had now no more occasion to deal so warily. So that his Voyage into *Italy* appearing

pearing useless, and his presence being necessary in the East, he thought it sufficient to congratulate *Charles* the 8th. for his Conquest of *Naples*, and to flatter him with that of *Constantinople*; assuring him, that a Prince so valiant and so fortunate as he, had need of no other Conductors then his own Courage and Fortune to bring the greatest Enterprises to pass: That the Knights were overjoy'd to see him so advantageously seated for a beyond-Sea Invasion: and concluding his Letter, That he had not yet heard from the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom he either thought to be cast away, or taken by the Pirates.

The event shew'd, that the Grand Master had no such reason to be hasty in his Voyage. For *Charles* the 8th. himself speedily on a sudden leaves *Naples*, and bends his march for *France*. Whether it were, that that restlessness which is natural to the *French* caus'd him to quit what he had Conquer'd, or whether all *Europe* Leagu'd against him, occasion'd his re-

retreat. However, there was no discourse after that, either of any Expedition beyond Sea, or of any Conquest of *Constantinople*.

At the time that *Charles* absolutely laid aside all thoughts of the Holy War, *Maximilian* began to plot it in his mind, either out of a real Zeal, or an Envious Emulation to reproach the *French* in some sort, that they had not done what they boasted to do against the *Turk*. However, he did not think it convenient to do any thing without advising with the Grand Master: To which purpose he sent unto him *Ralph of Wittenbergh*, Knight of *Rhodes*, and Grand Prior of *Germany*. This new Ambassador declar'd at a publick Audience, That *Maximilian* having resolv'd to turn all the Force of the Empire against the common Enemy, he durst not venture to proceed, till he had consulted before-hand the Cardinal Grand Master, the Oracle of the Christian Princes, the Terror of the Infidels, and Glory of the East: That he de-

desir'd private Ties of Union, and an entire correspondance with him, to the end he might follow his directions in all things, which he desir'd him not to refuse to those that requested them sincerely.

The Grand Master made answer publicly, That he was highly oblig'd to the Emperour for his Reliance and Esteem; but that he did not deserve those splendid Titles with which his Imperial Majesty had honour'd him; and that though the Order had signaliz'd themselves against the Infidels for some years since, those happy Successes were to be attributed to the valour of the Knights, and the Protection of Heaven. After which, in a discourse in private with the Ambassador, he laid open to him all the insight which he had into the Holy War, what Enterprises were to be undertaken against the *Turk* either by Sea or Land, and which were the most probable ways to succeed.

The wrongs and damages which the *Turks* at that time did to the
Vessels

Vessels of the Order, did not a little help to heat the Grand Master, and cause him to close with the designs of the Emperor. Several Infidels that inhabited the Coasts of *Lycia*, nearest to *Rhodes*, put to Sea every day, and pretending themselves to be Pirats, pillag'd the Isles of the Order; they also made inrodes into *Caria*, and brav'd the Knights even to the very Gates of the Castle of *St. Peter*. The Grand Master sends out certain Vessels against these pretended Pirats, of which, some were taken, and punish'd to the utmost of their deserts. But these disorders continuing, he writes to the Port, to know whether the Grand Seignior authoris'd these violences or no. The Pirats intercept the Letters, and kill the Bearers. The Grand Master being advertiz'd thereof, sought a more sure way to write to *Bajazet*, and did it with all the fierceness that a just resentment could inspire him with. Now though *Bajazet* were, as we said before, exasperated in his heart against the Knights, and had little

little value for them since the death of his Brother; yet he was still unwilling to display his fury: So that he order'd the *Beglerbei* of *Anatolia* severely to punish the Criminals. He also sent to *Rhodes* a Prudent and Intelligent Person, to examine the Losses which the *Rhodians* had sustain'd, and to assure them, in the name of his Highness, that all should be restor'd with Interest.

While the Grand Seignior labour'd in this manner to satisfie the Grand Master, some of the *Rhodians*, interested in the Goods which the Pirats had taken, secretly set forth some Vessels, and exercis'd several acts of Hostility upon the Coast of *Lycia*, pillaging Villages, taking Ships, and carrying away the very persons of the *Turks*. When the Grand Master was inform'd of it, he would not stay till the *Beglerbei* complain'd; he caus'd the chief in the Enterprize to be Arrested; and having discover'd that the Knights had a share, he nam'd Commissioners to examine the matter,

matter, resolv'd to proceed against the guilty with all the rigour of the Statutes, which positively forbid the Knights to set forth any Vessels of War without express leave.

Thus was the Grand Master perplex'd at home ; abroad he was as ill-satisfi'd with the Church of *Rome* ; For *Alexander* became more proud then ever by the retreat of the *French Army*, had no regard to the Priviledges which his Predecessor had granted to the Order of *St. John of Jerusalem*; touching the Collation of Benefices.

Francis Boffolx, a *Catalonian* by birth, one of the most Ancient and most Illustrious Knights of his Language, had conferr'd upon him by the Grand Master the *Priory of Catalonia*. The Pope not considering either the Age, or the Merit of the Knight, conferr'd the same Priorate, with the Commendary of *Navelles*, upon *Lewis Bor-gia* his Nephew. So unjust an act estranged all their hearts from the Pope, and occasion'd much trouble

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at *Rhodes*. It was, therefore, resolv'd in Counsel, to complain thereof in all the Courts of Christendom, and particularly to that of *Spain*. To which purpose Commissioners were named, and the Grand Prior of *Portugal*, the Bayliff of *Negropont*, the Commendator *Vikkel*, and the Knight *de Gotor*, in Quality of Extraordinary Ambassadors. The Grand Master wrote to *Ferdinand* a long Letter, wherein, after he had set forth how much scandal and disorder the injustice of *Alexander* had caused in the Order, he besought his Majesty, to espouse their Interests, and to mediate vigorously for them to the Pope.

Ferdinand, who was not ignorant of the Services which the Grand Master had done the Holy See, found his complaints so just, that he presently put the Knight *de Bostolx* in possession of the Priory of *Catalagne*. He assur'd the Ambassadors also, that while he liv'd, no other Knights of *Rhodes*, but such as were appointed and endow'd by the Grand

Grand Master, should enjoy the Revenues of his Order within his Dominions. He also wrote to the Pope at the same time, and very earnestly represented to him, That the courses he took steer'd directly to the ruine of the Order, wholly devoted to the Holy See. That the Zeal of the Knights was not altogether so pure and Angelical, but that they had an eye upon Temporal Recompences, while they fought against the common Enemy of the Faith; and that both their Zeal and Courage too would cool, when they beheld the Price of their Labours and their Sweat in the hands of Strangers and unknown Persons: So that if his Holiness did not preserve their Priviledges, it might be fear'd, that the Rampart of Christendom might be expos'd to the fury of the Infidels.

Alexander submitted to the Reasons, or at least to the Authority of the King of *Castile*. He revoked the Collation which he had made in favour of his Nephew; and the Grand Master gave the Commenda-

derie of *Wouvelles*, with that of *Bai-oles* to Don *Ferrand* of *Arragon*, of the Royal Family, and very dear to the King of *Castile*, having before that created him a Knight.

In the mean time intelligence came, that the *Turks* were building great Ships, and every where made great Preparations for War. Thereupon the Grand Master sent an Ambassador to *Constantinople*, in shew, to Congratulate the Grand Signior upon his recovery from sickness, but really to penetrate into the design of those new Preparations. *Bajazet* kept his design very secret : but the publick rumor of the Port was, that those Preparations were intended against *Egypt*, and was a report probable enough.

Cairbei had been dead some months before; and the youngest of his Sons was advanc'd to the Throne by the subtilty of a *Circassian Mamaluke*, who did what he pleas'd at *Caire*, and pretended to govern during the Minority of the Infant. But an absolute Authority in

in one particular Subject is always suspected and odious. The principal Nobility of the Court would not endure the new Government; so that instead of doing Homage to the new Sovereign, they revolted from him, and made Confederacies with the *Turks* to deprive him of his Crown. The Grand Master was inform'd of the rumour of the Court, but he believ'd it so much the less, the more the Grand Signior's Ministers desir'd it should be believ'd. He kept himself upon his Guard, and gave order for every thing. He engag'd in the Service of the Order all Strangers Ships that us'd the *Levant* Seas. He hir'd Companies of *Spanish* Infantry out of *Sicily*, from whence he also sent for Corn in abundance. The Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, after a dangerous Voyage, at length arriving safe, had order to go for *France* to make his Complements, and to desire aid of the Successor to *Charles* the VIII. who was dead of an Apoplexy, a disease fatal to great men in that

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Age, Thereupon *Lewis* the XII. who had a great esteem for the Grand Master, kindly receiv'd the Grand Prior, and order'd two and twenty great Ships to be made ready for the service of the Knights.

At that time, the Grand Master understanding, that *Henry* the VIII. King of *England*, laid out for the fairest *Turkey*-Carpets that were to be got, presented him with some that were very rare: *Henry* became sensible of the Civilities of the Grand Master, and, in acknowledgment, sent him several excellent Pieces of Artillery, with some Horses of an extraordinary Mettle and Colour. *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, who, of all the Princes of *Europe*, was most liable to be a Prey to the Barbarians, offered the Knights of *St. John* two Provinces of his Dominions, to engage them all together to his Interests. But the Grand Master was not of that humour to despoil a Prince, to protect him; he refus'd the offers of *Ladislaus*, but promis'd him all manner of assistance.

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Blanchefort. was no sooner return'd to *Rhodes*, but the Armada of the *Turks*. pass'd through the Straits of *Gallipoly*; the Course they steer'd at first caus'd a great fear, that the Storm threaten'd the Order of *St. John*; but soon after it was seen to fall upon the Republick of *Venice*. The *Turks* pretended, that they had suffered great wrongs in *Romania*, and the *Morea*. Besides that, the Provéditor *Prioli* having met a *Turkish* Vessel alone near *Meteline*, and perceiving that the Ship, in stead of Loring Sail, fir'd at them with all her Artillery, fought and sunk her. Now though the Act of *Prioli* was regular, however, it incens'd the Grand Signior, who lov'd the Captain of the Ship; for which reason he resolv'd a War against them: nevertheless he did not at all declare his resentment. For *Zadecuri*, whom the Senate sent to discover the inclinations of the Port, received a thousand Careses from *Bajazet*. Nay, the Barbarian desir'd to renew his Alliance with the Republick;

lick; but he caus'd the Articles of the new Treaty to be written in *Latine*, to the end he might break it when he pleas'd, according to the Principles of the *Mahumetan* Law, which suffers them not to have any regard to their words in Contracts, that are not written in their own Language.

At the same time that the *Ottoman* Fleet sail'd out of the Streight, the Grand Signior enter'd into *Romania* with a powerful Army, having imprison'd before all the *Venetians* that were at *Constantinople*. One part of the *Turkish* Cavalry was divided from the rest, and sent to harass the Countreys of *Zara* and *Dalmatia*. General *Grimani*, who lay at *Modon* with the Fleet of the Republick, had implor'd the assistance of the Grand Master upon the first noise of the War. But he more urgently requested his aid, when he saw the *Turks* double the Point of the *Mores*. *Justiniani*, who commanded in *Candy*, joyned his requests with those of *Grimani* and

and both of them sent to *Rhodes* certain Letters from the Duke *Barbarigo*.

The Grand Master look'd on the attempt of the *Turks* upon the *Venetians*, as a violation of the Treaty of Peace made with the *Order*, by reason they were oblig'd not to molest the Christians: so that he made no scruple to succour the *Venetians* in the present Conjunction. But because he would not make too great a noise, he onely sent them the *Spanish* Infantry that was come from *Sicily*, and some other Foreign Troops. The Republick also at the same time sent to the King of *France*, to obtain of his Majesty the Vessels design'd for the assistance of *Rhodes*. Who thereupon being then in League with the Pope and the *Venetians* against the Duke of *Milan*, gave order to his Admiral to sail away for *Greece*, to observe the countenances of the *Turks*, and in case that *Rhodes* were in no danger, to joyn with the *Venetian* Fleet.

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The noise of War inflam'd some of the Knights, and, amongst others, the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom the affairs of the Order detain'd in *France* during the Siege of *Rhodes*: And therefore to satisfy the extreme desire he had to meet with the Infidels, he desir'd leave to go and serve the *Venetians*. The Grand Master, who, before he broke with the *Turk*, was desirous to see the success of the War with *Venice*, hesitated at first upon the proposal of his Nephew; but the business being deliberated in Council, it was order'd, that the Grand Prior should have his liberty, but that he should not take along with him above thirty Knights at most. So that *Blanchefort* came to *Modon* at the same time that the *French* Ships arriv'd there. As for the *Venetian* Fleet, they had not so many Vessels as the *Turks*, But they had better men, and Ships more fit for fight. The *Turks* therefore avoided meeting with the *Christians*, minding onely to husband themselves for some greater Enterprize.

prise. But then Adventurers of *Rhodes* desiring nothing more than a Battle, press'd *Grimani* not to lose the opportunity. And indeed they might have fought, found, and vanquish'd the Infidels, had not the over-prudence of the *Venetians* rendered the heat of the *French* unprofitable. But the *Ottoman Fleet* consisted of 260 Sail, a number that astonish'd *Grimani*; so that instead of engaging, he did nothing but follow them aloof off. Thereupon the Grand Prior, and the *French* Admiral, who had a full resolution to have signaliz'd themselves, disgusted at the conduct of the General, quitted him with a generous disdain.

The Infidels embolden'd by the Cowardice of the *Venetians*, and by the retreat of the *French*, fiercely skirted along the Coasts of *Morocco*, and enter'd into the Gulph of *Le-panto*, whether *Bajazet* was come with his Army. The City was taken almost in sight of *Grimani*, who had not the courage to relieve it.

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This untoward news very much troubl'd the Grand Master : but the Pestilence that increas'd in *Rhodes* much more afflicted him. He made excellent Orders to stop the Torrent of the Contagion; and to the end the Barbarians might not attempt any thing at a time so seasonable for them, he kept in pay four Galleys, which his Nephew brought along with him from *Provence*; and having re-inforc'd them with Knights and Souldiers, he commanded them to cruise about the Islands; wherein he did two good acts at one time : for he preserv'd the Islands from Pirates, and empti'd the City of a great number of People, which might have been swept away by the Pestilence.

Lewis the XII. who made himself Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*, while the *Turks* took *Lepanto*, and who had a design to re-conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, out of which the *French* had been driv'n, thought himself oblig'd to assist the *Venetians* in the low Ebb of their Affairs : but he

he was perswaded he could not do it, unless he acted by consent with the Grand Master. For that reason he sent to him two Heralds at Arms, who carri'd a Letter also to the Port, to the end that by his means they might travel safely through *Turky*, and have a favourable Audience. So soon as the Heralds came to *Rhodes*, the Grand Master, who had made no open Breach with the *Turks*, wrote to *Constantinople* for Letters of safe Conduct. To which *Bajazet* did not onely freely consent, but gave order to the *Basha* of *Lycia* to go and meet the Heralds of *France*, and convoy them to the Port.

Efarcho Centurino, a man of good judgment, and one of the principal Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, departed along with them, carrying a Letter of Credence, to beseech the Grand Signior not to detain the Heralds long, and to make some small Complement to his Highness as to the War which he made against the *Venetians*. Now though the Letters
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from *Lewis* were very haughty, and threaten'd the *Ottoman* Empire with the Force of *France*, if he did not cease to molest the *Venetians*, and restore all that had been taken from them. *Bajazet* nevertheless receiv'd them very well; nor did he send them back without good Words, and magnificent Presents.

As the King of *France* had sent two Heralds by the way of *Rhodes*, the Grand Signior, by the same way also, sent to the King of *France* two Grandees of the Port, of which, the one was called *Sinan-bei*, and the other *Musibei*, to excuse himself likewise to the Grand Master. In some sort he endeavour'd, in a large Letter, to lay the blame upon the *Venetians*, and gave the reasons that mov'd him to declare War against them. He pretended, that the *Venetians* had violated the Faith of Treaties, and the Right of Nations, exercising all manner of violences upon the *Turks*; of which, to the end he might be believ'd, he gave a long List. And the

the more to defame the *Venetians*, he added, that the most Illustrious King of *France* knew well enough what wrongs they had done the *French*, when being onely Duke of *Orleans*, he accompani'd *Charles* the 8th. to the Conquest of *Naples*, when they proffer'd him ten Duc-kats for every Souldier to invade *Italy*; alledging, that if they did not stop the progress of the *French* Arms, they would at length assail the *Ottoman* Empire. All this the Grand Seignior wrote to justifie himself; but mention'd not a word how *Lodowic Sforza*, finding the King of *France* in League with the *Venetians* against him, had invited the *Ottoman* Arms against them; aggravating to the Port, that *Lewis* the XII. would certainly put in execution, what *Charles* the VIII. design'd, for the Conquest of *Milan* and *Naples*.

In the mean time, a Ship of *Rhodes* being bound from thence to the Coast of *Egypt*, was attack'd by a *Turkish* Gallion near to *Alexandria*.

andria. The Knights who were in the Ship defended themselves stoutly, and had reduc'd the *Turk* to the last extremity; but when the Ship was just upon the point of yielding, another Vessel, well arm'd, came to her relief; so that the Knights were forc'd to quit her. They made for *Alexandria*, and putting up the Soldan's Colours, enter'd the Port. But the Admiral of *Alexandria*, a perfidious Brute, without any regard either to the Peace and Laws of Nations, made the Knights Prisoners, and sent them to *Caire*, with all the Christians that were in the Ship.

The Grand Master collectur'd, by the attempt of the Gallion, that the *Turks* had no intentions any longer to keep fair with the Order. However, he complain'd to the Soldan of the Admirals behaviour, and that in high terms too, as of a violence insupportable. The Soldan understanding, that such sharp complaints were as good as threats, and that he that made them would be as good as his word, disown'd the
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the Admiral, and releas'd the Prisoners.

But the Grand Signior's proceedings were far different. For all his Civilities to the Grand Master, and his Embassie to the Court of *France*, did not hinder the Infidels from continuing the War against the *Venetians*, nor from invading *Italy*. Twelve thousand Spahi's entered into *Friuli*, through uncouth and difficult passages; and putting all to Fire and Sword, carri'd away above 20000 Christians into Slavery. The Pope, who minded nothing but the advancement of his Family, till then had onely been a Spectator of the War; but now he began to think himself concern'd, when he saw the Enemy at his Gates. And besides that his own Interest engag'd him to act, he thought himself oblig'd in Honour to wipe off those reproaches, which the death of *Zizim* had thrown upon him, and to repair, by some notable action, what had been irregular in his Government. Thereupon he

undertook, with all the heat imaginable, to unite the Christian Princes, that he might put a stop to the incursions of the Barbarians.

Nor was his diligence unsuccessful. The Kings of *Castile*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary* declar'd themselves first of all. *Maximilian*, whom the Wars of *Guelders* and *Switzerland* had diverted from the *Turkish* War, entred into this Holy League with *Louis* the 12th. when their differences about *Milan* were ended, by the Marriage of the King's Daughter with the Emperor's Son.

The Grand Master convinc'd more then ever of the Infidelity of the Grand Signior, and not believing himself oblig'd to have any more respect for them, who had no more for him, Leagu'd himself with the Croisado'd Princes. And now Forces are raising all over *Europe*; Ships making ready, Money gathering together in all places; and the bloody Crosses that fell from Heaven in *Germany*, which *Maximilian* himself saw, seem'd to portend

tend a happy success. The *Turks* take the Alarm at these Preparations and Prodigies; though that which most affrighted them was the choice that was made of the *Generalissimo* of the League.

Alexander, who, among his wicked qualities, had some good ones, and who had a very ready wit, be-thought himself, that to bring about so important an Expedition, nothing could be more available then the choice of an Experienc'd Captain, and such a one as should be acceptable to all the Princes. He cast his eye upon the Grand Master *D' Aubusson*, and propos'd him in a full Consistory, after he had made him a large Encomium. All the Cardinals applauded the Popes Proposition. However, *Alexander*, before he made the Choice publick, resolv'd to try the Inclination of the Grand Master. To this end he wrote to him in a very obliging style, nevertheless with a chargeable condition in his Brief, that the Order, during the time that the Grand Master should

continue General, should keep out at Sea four Gallies, and four Barks, well appointed, for the Service of the League.

The Grand Master, who lov'd to act at his own liberty, ponder'd upon the Condition ; and it may be his modesty had made use of this pretence, to rid himself of an Employment, which he thought above him, if the Council had not advis'd him to accept of the Condition at any rate whatever, and that the Letters of several Cardinals his Friends had not at length brought him to an absolute determination. Thereupon he wrote to his Holiness, That with all acknowledgment and humble bashfulness he was willing to take upon him the Charge, with which he was pleas'd to honour him : And he sent a very ample Procuration, as to this Affair, to the Commander of *Avignon*, then Vice-Procurator-General of the Order in the Court of *Rome*.

The Pope, not doubting but that his Proposal would be as acceptable

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to the Princes, as it was to the Cardinals, gave them advice of his choice, so soon as he had receiv'd the Grand Master's Answer. All the Courts of Christendom applauded so wise a Choice ; and this one Action did *Alexander* so much honour, that his Reputation was much repair'd thereby. Thereupon before all the Ambassadors of the Confederate Princes, he publickly declar'd the Grand Master *D' Aubuffon*, Captain-General of the Croisado.

After which, his Holiness, by a Solemn Brief, fill'd with his Praises, gave him information of it. The Purport of the Brief was, That the Princes had approv'd the Choice which he had made of his Person ; That they were very readily dispos'd to obey him ; and that his Experience, Valour, and Piety, gave them confident hopes of Victory. The Pope added, That he was resolv'd to go to the War himself, notwithstanding his Age, resolv'd to partake with the Grand Master in all the Labours of a Christian War-

fare, and to lay down his life, if occasion should be, to render the Expedition successful. He sent word, That there were 15 Gallies, which he had expressly caus'd to be made ready; and that the Bishop of *Tivoly* had orders to send them away, so soon as they were fitted out. He also wrote him word, that he had given notice to the Princes by their Ambassadors, that his intention was, that they and all their Forces should render to him the same Honour, and the same Obedience, as to the Head of the Church. Exhorting him him at length to defend the Faith upon this occasion, with the same Courage and Virtue, with which alone he had defended it, when he forc'd *Mahomet* to raise his Siege from before *Rhodes*.

Lewis the XII. would not stay to acknowledge him till he was publicly proclaim'd at *Rome*; but so soon as he understood the Pope's intentions, he wrote to the Grand Master, That being willing to contribute to the Successes of so noble
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an Expedition, notwithstanding the Affairs he had in *Italy*, he was setting forth a Navy Royal, and that knowing his Prudence and long Experience in the Wars against the *Turk*, he had order'd his Admiral, *Philip de Cleves Ruvesteine*, to follow his Counsels in all things, and to Act by his Instructions.

The Praises and Applauses which the Pope and the King of *France* gave him, did but re-double the zeal and diligence of the Grand Master: So that being now acknowledg'd the Captain of such a famous Enterprize, his whole study was, how to bring it to good issue. The Summer being now past, and no Princes Fleet appearing; or if they had appear'd, the Season being now past for any considerable Action, his first consideration was to settle a Bank for the payment of such Forces as should arrive, that they might not think of returning for want of Money. For he knew well, that onely Money could keep Souldiers together idle in the *Levant*. To

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this purpose he sent to the Pope and the King of *France* intelligent Knights, to let them understand, that without that precaution, there was nothing to be done against the *Turk*. That if the Souldiers of the League came not forthwith, they would not be in a condition for action the next Season; and that, if being once arriv'd, they should return for want of subsistence, the common Enemy would take advantage of their Retreat. He let them further know, That while the Forces of the Confederate Princes attack'd the *Turk* by Sea, it was necessary that the King of *Hungary* should assail him by Land to make a diversion.

But in regard the safety of Christendom, in some measure, depended upon the safety of *Rhodes*, he was of opinion, that the Ships belonging to the Order should not distance themselves any farther then *Cape Malio*. He also thought it necessary, that the Fleet of the Confederate Princes should not come
to

to *Rhodes*, to spare them the labour of returning back to the *Morea*, and *Rhodes* the inconvenience of being eaten out by so many people. Upon which consideration it was resolv'd to send before to *Ravestein*, to desire him to stay at Cape St. *Angelo*, there to attend till the Master came himself to bring them into some good Harbour.

Ravestein was already entred into the *Archipelago*, and steer'd directly to the Island of *Metelin*, to signalize himself immediately by some notable action. But in regard he hated Dependency, and was covetous of all the Honour to himself, so far was he from following the Orders of the Grand Master, that not vouchsafing to follow his Counsel, he onely sent to invite him to come and joyn with him. However, though this seem'd a very disobliging act of *Ravestein*, yet the Grand Master more resented the ill-timing of the Enterprize, then the ill-behaviour of *Ravestein*, knowing well it was contrary to the King's Pleasure,

sure, and that the wills of Princes are usually ill obey'd, when those that are employ'd take upon them to follow their own inclinations. And indeed this Bad beginning of the League, created an ill opinion of the Event. Nor did the slowness of the Pope less trouble him, then the forwardness of the *French*. The fifteen Galleys that were to appear with the first, were not to be heard of; neither was there any news of the Bishop of *Tivoli*, who had order to conduct them.

How zealous soever the Grand Master was to advance the Affairs of the *Croisade*, he could not determine with himself to joyn with the *French* before the arrival of the Pope's Fleet. He consider'd, that having no Instructions from his Holiness touching the Duties of his Office, it behov'd him not to begin the Exercise of it. He consider'd also, that in difficulties which might happen, the other Captains would be subject to dispute his power, when they found the
Galleys

Galleys of his Holiness absent. To avoid all these inconveniences, he press'd the Pope to keep his word, representing to him with an extraordinary respect and zeal mix'd together, that his Holiness being the Chief, and Soul of the Enterprize, there was nothing to be done without him. That the Fleets of the Christian Princes would come in vain into the *Levant*, if he did not appear in the head of them. That as for his part, he desir'd onely to acquit himself of the Charge where-with he had been pleas'd to honour him, as having all his life-time onely sought a fair opportunity to ruine the *Mahumetan* Puissance.

Ravestein, who had unadvisedly engag'd himself in the Siege of *Metelin*, and began to see his fault, endeavour'd all he could to re-fix himself in the good opinion of the Grand Master, and to oblige him to come to his relief: He sent to him by the Knight *de Gavaston*, who was come to him on the behalf of the Order, that the *Venetians* having drawn him

him to *Meteline* before the arrival of the Knight, he could not avoid besieging the City. That at first he had rais'd a Battery, which had no success, as being planted against the strongest part of the Wall; but that having chang'd his Battery, the Cannon wrought wonders; but that he could not determine with himself to make a general Onset without him; believing withall, that the Event of the Storm would not prove successful, unless the Knights of *Rhodes* had their share. That the *Venetians* had thirty Gallies before *Meteline*, not counting his. That for the Popes Gallies, they were not to be expected; nor did he know where his Holiness should have fifteen; for that being at *Naples*, he knew he had but two, which the Duke of *Valentinois* made use of against the Prince of *Piombino*; and that he could not learn that he had made any Preparations against the *Turk*; concluding at last, that he acknowledg'd the Grand Master for General of the Christian Fleet, and that

that he would not proceed any more without his Orders.

The Grand Master hearing no news of the Pope's fifteen Galleys, and not enduring that any thing should be acted against the *Turk*, wherein he had not his share, resolv'd to sacrifice his Resentments to his Honour, and the Interests of the Church. He thought himself oblig'd also, for the Reputation of the Arms of *France*, not to desert *Ravestein*, what ever reason he had to be displeas'd with him. Therefore that he might act with Honour, besides the four Galleys and four Barks which he was to set forth by the Articles of the League, he resolv'd to take along with him the Great Ship belonging to the Order, twelve great Gallions, several Brigantines, several Foists, with some *Italian* and *Catalonian* Vessels which he had hir'd.

At his departure, he left very good Orders behind him; for having declar'd the Grand Commander *Cossa* his Lieutenant to govern with the Council, he prescrib'd him every week

week to give publick Audience to the People: and in case any of the Knights should withstand him, to proceed against them according to the Forms and Rigour of the Statutes. The management of the Treasure, for a time, he committed to the care of the Admiral; and particularly charg'd the Grand Marshal to be exact in doing Justice to the Knights.

For the security of *Rhodes*, he gave order, that Guards should be kept in all the Posts of the Languages, as if the place were Besieg'd; and he himself nam'd such and such Knights to ride their Rounds about the Island, to hinder the Landing of the Barbarians.

The Council, in requital, to shew the particular esteem which they had for the Grand Master, order'd, That all the Knights that accompani'd him should enjoy the privileges of Residence, as if present at *Rhodes*: That all Elections of Priors and Bailiffs should surcease in his absence, that he might deliberate upon

upon such Affairs as should present themselves, and that his Decrees should be of the same force and authority, as if issu'd out of his Palace : and that in regard a great number of Knights were to attend the Grand Master, it was ordain'd, that after their departure, no Knight should stir out of the Island, but upon the urgent affairs of the Order.

Things being thus settled, and twelve Vessels of the Fleet being gone before to stay for the Knights at *Lango*, the Grand Master embark'd the 21 of *November*, attended to the Sea by a great throng of People, who could not but let fall tears at his departure, especially when they saw him threaten'd by a rising Tempest ere he was out of sight.

His impatience to be at the assault of *Meteline*, caus'd him to make all the haste imaginable. Scarcely had he reach'd *Lango*, when the Knight *Baldovin*, whom he had sent before to advertize the *French* and *Venetians* of his coming, brought him
news

news that the Siege was rais'd ; at the same time delivering him Letters from *Ravestein* and *Pesaro*. *Ravestein* signifi'd to him in a few words, That the Siege of *Meteline* being an Enterprize much more difficult, then it had seem'd to be to men of very good judgment, he thought fit to leave it off. That the Season being far spent, his care was how to be gone before it grew worse, which would be in two days at farthest, with his good leave. The Letter from *Pesaro* was larger, and more rational ; the effect whereof was, That whereas *Ravestein* had undertaken the Siege without advising with the *Venetians*, he had also rais'd it of his own head : That it was no wonder, that an Enterprize so ill manag'd should have no better success. That the *French* preparing for home, there was no likelihood that the *Venetians* should stay at *Meteline*. That they were making to *Scio* ; and that if it were his pleasure they should joyn with the Knights, they were ready to do what

what he should think best for the good of Christendom. *Pesaro* added, that there was no heed to be given to the Popes Promise, for that his Fifteen Gallies were onely in Idea. That the *Spanish* Fleet was about *Taranto*; and that the *Portugal* Fleet having gain'd *Corfu*, was return'd home, notwithstanding all the intreaties of the *Venetians*; pretending they could not stay long out in bad weather in those Seas.

The Grand Master was more perplex'd at the ill success of the Enterprize of *Metelme*, then surpriz'd at it. But believing that the return of the *French* Fleet wou'd do more harm to the Affairs of the League, then the raising of the Siege, he dispatch'd away a Foist to *Naxi*, by which the *French* were to pass, desiring *Ravestein* not to return till they had discours'd together. He sent another to *Scio*, to desire the *Venetians* to meet him at *Naxi*, and to let them know, that he had made great Preparations for their assistance; that he had left

D d *Rhodes*

Rhodes in a bad Season, and almost contrary to the advice of his Council : That the misfortune of *Metelina* was not past recovery, and that they might return to the Siege with more success, provided the *French* had not lost their courage. He desired *Pesaro* to stay *Ravenstein*, at what rate soever, if they were yet together, or earnestly to write to him, if they were parted.

The *Rhodian* Fleet set sail from *Lango* presently after the Foists, and, in spite of contrary Winds, arriv'd at length before *Naxi*. But *Ravensteins* impatience to quit the *Levant*, would not permit him to stay for the Knights. He set sail precisely two days after he had wrote to the Grand Master, according to the purport of his Letter, the Prayers of the *Venetians*, the Honour of *France*, nor his own, being able to stop him.

The Grand Master had not been so well pleas'd at the departure of the *French*, had he not met the *Venetians* in sight of the Island.

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After mutual Salutes of both Fleets, *Pesaro* came aboard the Grand Master, where after some deliberation upon the present state of Affairs, they concluded together, to write to all the Princes of the *Croisade*, to engage them to let their Fleets be ready against the Spring. They also agreed, that the true way to ruine the *Turk*, was not to make any attempts upon the Islands of the *Archipelago*, the loss of which would do him but little harm; but to force the *Dardanel*s, and besiege *Gallipoli* with a potent Army; then to make up directly to *Constantinople*, and fire the Fleet that usually rode in the Sea of *Marmora*; which the Grand Master would undertake to do, provided that *Ladislaus* perform'd his part, upon *Hungary* side. This being the condition of Affairs at that time, the Grand Master took his leave of *Pesaro*, and set sail for *Rhodes*, three of the *Venetian* Gallies attending him out of respect. The *Rhodians*, who did not expect his Return so

D d 2 soon,

soon, were pleasingly surpriz'd at it ; yet easily brookt the misfortune that restor'd them their Grand Master.

No sooner was he arriv'd, but he had intelligence, that several *Turky* Merchants Ships, very richly laden, were in the Seas of *Syria* and *Egypt* homeward bound. The Council was of opinion, that such a Booty was not to be let slip, but that they should take this opportunity absolutely to break with the Port. Thereupon the Grand Master commanded out seven Gallies, and some Boats, to way-lay them. The Knight *Diomedes de Villaragut*, Castellan of *Emposta*, was nam'd Admiral of the Squadron. He put to Sea, and took the Ships ; so that the Prize almost recompenc'd the Expences which the Knights had been at.

But for all this small success, the Master was not a little troubled at the slowness of the Princes. He was sensibly afflicted to see the League half-broken ; and therefore to renew it again, he sent Ambassadors

to

to all the Christian Courts : Who were no sooner departed, but Ambassadors arriv'd from *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary* ; who, after they had congratulated the Grand Master as General of the League, assured him, that the *Hungarian* Army was in readiness ; and therefore desir'd him to engage the Grand *Caraman*, the Soldan of *Egypt*, but, above all, the King of *Persia*, to take up Arms against the *Turk*. The Resolutions of *Ladislaus* extremely rejoyc'd the Grand Master ; but the Revolutions then hapning in *Persia* somewhat qualifi'd his joy.

Jacup the Son of *Ussum Cassan*, succeeding his Father in the Kingdom of *Persia*, was afraid lest *Arduel*, his Cousin, should one day usurp the Crown ; and his fear was upon good grounds. *Arduel* publickly gave out, that *Ali* was the true Interpreter of the Law ; and thereby he almost overthrew *Mahometism*. The People, who are always dispos'd to receive Novelties, and

are easily govern'd by them that know how to tickle their fancies with Religion, declar'd themselves for the Doctrine of *Arduel*. Thereupon *Jacup* thought the favour of the People to be a sufficient crime for which to put him to death, and rid himself of him without any noise. And a little while after he gave the same order for *Ishmael* the Son of *Arduel*. That order of the King of *Persia* was not so secret, but *Ishmael* had notice of it. Upon which, he fled towards the *Caspian Sea*, to a Prince that was one of his Friends, and there immediately made a publick Profession of what his Father had taught him. His comely Presence and his Eloquence, soon begat him a high esteem among those Barbarous Nations, even to be regarded as a kind of Deity ; for which reason they gave him the name of *Sophi*, or Wise. He dextrously kept up so fair a Reputation, and believing it lawful for him to do any thing to obtain a Crown, he got the King of *Persia* to be put to death,

by

by the very means of the Queen her self, who hated her Husband, and lov'd *Ishmael*. After the death of *Jacup*, *Ishmael* return'd into *Persia*, with a great number of his followers, who lookt upon him as a Prophet sent by God: The most part of the *Persians* took his part, so that having got together a good Army, he march'd against *Alvant*, who had tak'n possession of the Throne, as being the eldest Son of *Jacup*. The new King was driv'n first from his City, then defeated in a great Battel, and slain by *Ishmael's* own hand. This fatal news quite damp't the courage of *Alvant's* Brother, whose name was *Maracatan*, and lay at *Babylon* with a numerous Army. So that in stead of marching against *Ishmael*, he fled to the Mountains, and abandon'd the Throne that belong'd to him to save his life. Thus the Usurper became the Master; and though all the Kingdom had not yet submitted to his Scepter, he caus'd himself to be call'd King of *Persia*.

These Revolutions appear'd no way favourable to the King of *Hungary*, nor to the intentions of the Grand Master. There was no probability that *Ishmael Sophi* would engage in the Affairs of the League, while *Persia* was not yet at Peace within it self, and all those accidents were still to be fear'd that might ruine a new Dominion, unjust and unsetl'd; besides, that the Successes of *Ishmael* naturally bred suspicions in the King of *Caramania*'s breast. Which reasons would not permit him to enterprize against the *Turks*, when he had enough to do to secure himself at home. Nor was the Soldan of *Egypt* in a better condition to favour the Princes of the *Crossade*; for besides that he was embroil'd in the Domestick Dissentions of his own Court, he fear'd the victorious Arms of *Ishmael*, who by the advice giv'n him by *Attula Turcoman*, threaten'd to begin his Conquests with those of *Syria* and *Egypt*, when he had setl'd himself in *Persia*. Nevertheless,

less, when the Grand Master better consider'd, he bethought himself, that the Troubles of *Persia* would be no way disadvantageous to the Enterprize of the Christians; for that the *Turk* alarm'd with the Success of his Victorious Neighbour and Enemy, would be oblig'd to keep very numerous Armies upon the Frontiers of *Turky*; and that being thereby much weaken'd, he might be the easier vanquish'd at home.

The noise of the League no less perplex'd *Bajazet*, then the Revolutions of *Persia*. Understanding therefore that the Grand Master was the Head and Soul of the Enterprize, he bethought himself of dealing with him, by the means of *Sultan Corcut*, the best belov'd of all his Sons, to whom he had giv'n the Government of *Anatolia*. *Corcut* being well instructed by the Ministers of the Port what part he was to act, sent very rich Presents to the Grand Master, with a most obliging Letter, wherein he requested his friend-

friendship; and conjur'd him, after a thousand offers of his services, that they might live together in Amity and good Correspondence, and that there might be a freedom of Trade between each others Subjects. He added, that his Father had given him all power, in reference to a peace, and that he was ready to do what ever the Knights desir'd. But these fair words could not dazzle the Grand Master. He knew by the *Turks* themselves, who were his Spies, that the famous Pirate *Camali*, who had fitted out several Vessels at *Gallipoli* for the service of *Bajazet*, was just ready to set Sail out of the Straits with above fifty men of War, to attack the Isles that belong'd to the *Order*. So that without entering into any further Negotiation, he frankly declar'd, That being nominated General of the League by the Pope, he could not forsake the Common Cause, nor could hearken to any Peace which the Grand Seignior would not make with all the Princes of Christendom,

as well as with the Knights of *Rhodes*.

The Grand Master declar'd himself upon this point so much the more boldly, because he knew, that seven of the Popes Galleys were join'd to the *Venetian* Armado at the Island of *Cerigo*, and that his Holiness was setting out thirteen more, the care of which he had given to the Knight *Fabricio de Carretta*, who was then at *Genoa*. This news was brought to *Rhodes* by an Envoy of the Bishop of *Basso*, under whose Conduct the Galleys set Sail, and who had also in Charge a Brief from the Pope to be deliver'd to the Grand Master. This Brief contain'd many Applauses of the Grand Masters Actions, and many Excuses of the Popes Neglect: That he had the most sincere intentions in the world, but that the misfortunes of the times would not suffer him to keep his word; that he would repair what was past with advantage, and send Twenty Galleys instead of Fifteen.

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But to return to the *Sophi*. He had no sooner establish'd his Throne, partly by fair, partly by foul means, but he resolv'd to extend his Conquests. Instead of advancing against *Egypt*, as he intended, he fell into *Armenia* with fourscore thousand fighting men, drawn thither by the Neighbourhood, and the hatred which he bore the *Turks*. In this Expedition, *Ishmael* soon mastered *Armenia*, after he had cut in pieces above twenty thousand men. *Bajazet* alarm'd by the Success of the Conqueror, gather'd all his Forces together to defend himself; but he could not believe himself able to resist so potent an Enemy, while he was at odds with the Christians. For that reason he made Propositions of Peace to the Grand Master and the Republick of *Venice*.

The Grand Master, who had intelligence of every thing, and in particular knew the Consternation of the Grand Signior, fail'd not to give notice of it to the Pope, that never a fairer opportunity offer'd it self to
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ruine the Common Enemy : That *Bajazet* was oblig'd to go in Person against the *Persian*, for want of a *Basha* experienc'd in Military Affairs, in whom he could absolutely confide : That the *Sophi*, a liberal and affable Prince, drew to his Party the Militia of the Grand Signior : That there was no likelihood of any accord between *Persia* and *Turky*, in regard a Conqueror hates nothing more then Peace. Therefore he besought his Holiness not to neglect the opportunity that Providence presented. But the Commotions in *Italy* render'd all these Remonstrances void. For while the *Turks* and *Persians* make War one against another, the *French* and *Spaniards* break the Peace which they had made. They had contracted an Alliance against *Frederick* of *Naples*, who succeeded *Ferdinand* his Nephew, and had got possession of his Dominions by force of Arms. But Ambition soon divided them, which it had united. *Lewis* the XII. and *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*,

Castile, became jealous each of other ; neither could endure a Competitor nor a Companion, both of them claim the whole Kingdom which they had parted betwixt them. And the differences of their Ministers, touching the limits of their common Conquests serving for a pretence, occasion'd a most bloody War, that fill'd all *Italy* with horror and confusion.

The Bishop of *Basso*, who had joyn'd himself with the Fleet of the *Venetians*, had intelligence of the Rupture between the two Crowns, at what time the Naval Army of the *Venetians* had taken the Island of *Santa Maura* from the *Turk*, with the assistance of a Squadron of Knights which the Grand Master sent them, and some Galleys of a *French* Captain, call'd *Pre' Jan de Bidoux*, a very understanding Seaman, and a very stout Souldier. Presently the Bishop gave a shrewd guess at the ill success of the League by the state of affairs in *Italy*, and, according to his Instructions, he

gave

gave notice to the Grand Master, That new divisions hinder'd his Holiness from being exact to his word. He added, That of Twenty Gallies promis'd by the Holy See, he had receiv'd but Thirteen; That he could not keep them above four months, without express command from the Pope; which were almost expir'd, and most certainly would not be prolong'd; That the *French* Fleet would not come at all; That Captain *Pré Jan de Bidoux* was gone from *St. Maura* upon the first intelligence of the Broils between *France* and *Spain*; That the *Venetians* being resolv'd to fortifie *St. Maura*, could not spare their Fleet any farther; so that Winter being at hand, he did not believe that the Confederate Princes would undertake any thing against the *Turk* this year.

However, the eager longing which the Grand Master had to see the League renew'd, and his joy for the taking *Santa Maura*, made him believe, that the flames of War be-

between the *French* and *Spaniards* might be as easily extinguish'd as they were kindled ; upon this consideration he resolv'd not to give off so. So that without taking any notice of the Bishop of *Basso's* advice, he fell again to writing to the Pope. After he had congratulated the Pope for the Success of his Gallies in the taking *Santa Manra*, he besought him to keep them still in readiness, and to excite the *Venetians* to prepare the most powerful Armado they could. He besought him to endeavour the reconciliation of the two Kings, and to make use of all his Art in that particular. He press'd with new vehemency the Emperour, and other Kings, particularly the King of *England*, who was very powerful at Sea, and who was very zealous for the Interests of the Church. After which, committing the rest into the hands of Providence, he set himself to regulate the Customs both of the People, and the Knights.

In the first place, understanding, that

that the *Jews* that dwelt in *Rhodes*, led a very scandalous life, and that their bad example was the occasion of many sins committed in the City, he took up a resolution to expel them. Having assembl'd a Council for this effect, he set forth, in a long discourse, all the evil that the Trade of the *Jews* might produce among the Faithful; and that an Order particularly consecrated to the defence of Christendom, ought to abhor a Nation which was so much the Enemy of Christ himself. Then he came in particular to the *Jews* of *Rhodes*, whom the Prodigies of the last Siege, and those upon the Wall, had harden'd the more.

The Grand Master's judgment was approv'd in Council, and they all decreed with one accord, that the *Jews* should depart the Island, and all the Territories of the Order, within fifty days. They were also forbid to settle in the East, lest they should prove spies to the *Turks*: and all that was permitted them, was, to put off their Goods

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in fourty days. But all sorts of Liberty and priviledges were offer'd, on the other side, to those that would turn Christians. As for their little Children, it was decreed, that they should be Baptiz'd whether their Parents would or no. And the Decree of Council was drawn in express terms, That since it was the opinion of all Divines and Canonists, that the *Jews* were the Slaves of the Christian Princes, they had not the Right nor Jurisdiction of Parents over their Children. So that the Grand Master might dispose of them for the good of Christendom, and the Salvation of their Souls. Thereupon according to the power of the Laws, the *Jews* Children were Baptiz'd. And lest they should renounce their Christianity when they came to years of discretion, the Grand Master kept them at *Rhodes*, and brought them up at the publick Charge, in some measure doing the Duty and Office of a Father to them.

After this, the Grand Master applied

pli'd himself to examine the Statutes of the Order, which the Vice-Chancellor *Caoursin* had reduc'd into a Method some years before. Some he cancell'd that were grow nout of use, the observation whereof did more harm then good, serving onely to multiply Quarrels and Suits of Law. Others he made new, according to the Constitution of the present Time. For seeing how far the Impiety and Luxury of the Knights had extended it self, who liv'd more like Seculars and Libertines, then men in Holy Orders, he ordain'd, That whosoe'er should swear by, or blaspheme the Name of God, or speak a word to the dishonour of the Virgin *Mary*, or the Saints, for the first fault should undergo the punishment of * *Lent.*; for the second, two months imprisonment in the Castle; and for the third, be put in the publick Prison during the pleasure of the Grand Master and the Council;

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* *Fast fourty days, and be whipt twice a week before the High Altar.*

and that they that were put into these Prisons, should lose three years privilege of Precedency.

He also forbade, that the Knights should habit themselves like other people of the world, or wear any thing that had the least semblance of Gallantry or Vanity. He order'd particularly, that their habits should be plain, and of one colour; and that if any Knight disobey'd this Order, besides the punishment of the Quarantine, his Habit should be confiscate to the Publick Treasury.

But though he lov'd Modesty in Habit, he was Magnificent in all things that concern'd the Ornament and Beautifying of the Church; as, the stately Tapestries, Statues of Silver, Crosses of Gold, Chalices, and Image-Chariots of *Malta*, engraven with his Arms for the most part, testifie to this day.

While he employ'd himself in this manner, in expectation of his Embassie & Letters in reference to the League, the *Spaniards*, who had for their Captain

Captain in the Kingdom of *Naples*
Alexander Cordova, fir-nam'd the
 Great Captain, made most cruel
 War against the *French*; and both
 Parties grew so violent one against
 another, that there was no likeli-
 hood of Peace. The Pope, instead
 of labouring an accommodation and
 reconcilment between the two Na-
 tions, as the Grand Master had de-
 sir'd him, openly favour'd the *Span-*
niards, and fed the fire which he
 ought to have extinguish'd. Besides,
 he had no other thoughts in his
 head, but how to Aggrandize *Cesar*
Borgia his Son, Duke of *Valentinois*,
 whom he passionately lov'd so far,
 as to dare any thing, and think
 any thing lawful for his advance-
 ment and enrichment. But that
 which directly ruin'd the *Croisade*,
 was this, That the *Venetians*, tir'd
 with the War, made Peace with the
Turks, after several private Negoti-
 ations, wherein the Knights of
Rhodes were not taken notice of in
 the least. By this Peace, the *Vene-*
tians restord the Island of *Santa*
 Ec 3 *Maura*,

Maura, which *Pesara* had fortifi'd at great Expences; and the Grand Signior engag'd himself to restore what he had taken from the *Venetian* Merchants, from the beginning of the War. *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary* soon follow'd the example of the Republick, making an agreement, though not very Honourable, with *Bajazet*. These sad tidings pierc'd the very heart of the Grand Master; and to add to his affliction, he understood at the same time, that his Holiness had conferr'd Commanderies of the Order upon Secular Persons, and that he had promis'd the Priorie of *Castile* to *Don Henry* of *Toledo*. Considering neither the Priviledges of *Innocent* the VIII. the Nature of the Revenues of the Order, nor the Dignity of the Generalissimo of the *League*, whom he had elected himself.

The Grand Master so highly resented such irregular proceedings, that he wrote to the Pope; and without swerving from that respect which he ow'd to the Chief of the Church,

Church, and the Vicar of Christ, he told *Alexander* his own, as far as a real Zeal could inspire him. But *Alexander* taking little notice of his Complaints, continu'd his affronts and injuries to the Order, and that with so much the more Liberty, believing, that now the *Venetians* had made Peace with the *Turks*, he should have no more need of the Knights.

The League thus brok'n off, and the proceedings of the Pope, brought the Grand Master into a deep Melancholy, that wasted him by degrees, and at length cast him into a mortal distemper. He began to fall ill the Eve of St. *John Baptists* day. But then he would not disclose that he ail'd any thing, and was present at the Bonfires, and at the publick Annual Ceremonies before the Castle, for which there are extraordinary preparations in Honour of the Patron of the Order. He also went in state to Church upon the Festival day; and concealing his ill disposition of body, perform'd all

the Duties of a true Christian.

This striving against his Distemper out of Piety, re-doubl'd the force of the disease; so that in two days he fell so ill, that the Physicians at first despair'd of his life: nevertheless they were willing to try what Art could do. But the Grand Master, who perceiv'd himself near his end, slighted his own preservation, and told them with a smile, That never having taken Physick, it was dangerous for him to begin at his years. However, he submitted to the intreaties of his Nephew, and the reasons of the Physicians, notwithstanding his own natural reluctance.

1503

The Grand Masters sickness, put all the City into a Consternation. The Inhabitants, like people in despair, ran to the Castle, and from the Castle to the Churches, to implore of God the life of their Prince. The whole City was fill'd with Vows, Prayers, and Processions. But his sickness encreasing more and more, he receiv'd the Sacrament of the

the Church with a lively Faith, and an ardent Devotion, which, both edifi'd and pierc'd the hearts of all that stood by. After that, he call'd all the Knights of the Council, and recollecting all the strength he had left; *My dear Brethren*, said he, *I have no more then one short moment to live; therefore before I leave you, take it not amiss that I exhort you, to choose a Person more worthy then my self to succeed in my Place; and that I conjure ye also to expend all your Honour in a generous defence of the Faith, and in the observation of the Rules of the Order. This is the favour that I beg of you as a dying man.* Hardly had he strength enough to pronounce the last words; nor did he utter above two or three words more, to comfort the Knights, that shed tears round about his bed. At length he gave them his Benediction as his Children; and then lying quietly for some time, with his eyes sometimes lifted up to Heaven, sometimes fix'd upon the Crucifix,

Crucifix, he seem'd to be in a kind of discourse with God, till he sweetly and mildly yielded up his

Anno last breath. At the very moment of his expiration, the

Knights made so loud a noise of lamentation, as easily made known his death to the People, assembl'd in the Palace. Then was their sorrow soon express'd by their tears and wailings, and after that by a deep silence, as usually happens in extreme afflictions.

Thus did *Peter D' Aubusson*, Grand Master of *Rhodes*, Cardinal of *St. Adrian*, Legate of the Holy See in *Asia*, and nominated Generalissimo of the Holy League. He was aged about fourscore years, and he had govern'd the Order above twenty seven.

So soon as grief would permit the Knights to come to themselves, they made it their business to render to the dead their last duties with all the Magnificence imaginable. He was expos'd upon a Noble Bed of State. Nor did the Ghastliness of

of death deprive him of that sweet and amiable Majesty, that always appear'd in his countenance when alive. Three Knights stood at the Beds head in Mourning, one holding the Cardinals Cap, another the Legats Cross, and the third the Standard of Generalissimo. Four other Knights held each of them a Banner, whereon were embroider'd the Arms of the Order, and those of D'Aubusson. On each side of him stood two Altars, dress'd up with Canopies over each; on the one was laid the *Dalmatick Gown*, the *Mitre*, and all the Ornaments proper for a Cardinal Deacon. On the other lay the Casque, Corslet, Half-Pike and Sword, which the Grand Master made use of upon the day of the Grand Assault; together with his Cloathes, all stain'd with his own and the bloud of the Barbarians. Two hundred Knights attended besides, all in deep mourning. The People that crowd'd to this fatal Spectacle, could not forbear

bear weeping bitterly ; they cri'd out, They had lost their Father ; and then kiss'd his hands to ease their grief, and took their last leaves.

His Obsequies were perform'd the next day following, which the publick Grief contributed to render more solemn, then all the Funeral Pomp. He was carri'd to the Church upon the shoulders of the principal *Grand-Crosses* , and Interr'd in the Chappel he himself had built.

The first General Chapter that was held at *Rhodes* under *Emery D'Amboise*, his Successor, decreed, That in Honour of the Memory of the Grand Master *D'Aubusson*, the Order should, at the Expence of the Publick Treasury, erect him a Magnificent Tomb in Brass ; and that an Epitaph should be Engrav'd upon it, reciting the most Illustrious Actions of his Life. The Historians of the Order of *St. John* do not mention this Epigram, and with all the diligence I have us'd, I could never
hear

hear any thing more of it. However, the Encomiums which Popes, Princes, and Historians have given the famous *Peter D' Aubusson*, may well supply the place of that Epitaph. *Sixtus* the IV. and *Innocent* the VIII. affirm in their Briefs, that the Holy See was infinitely oblig'd to him, and that they could not sufficiently acknowledge the Services he had done the Faithful, in putting a stop, by his cares, and with the price of his own blood, to the Conquests of *Mahomet* the Second, the most Formidable Enemy of Christendom. *Alexander* the Sixth confess'd, That there was in the Grand Master a Sincere Faith, an Heroick Valour, an Exquisite Prudence, and a most perfect Experience in all things that concern'd the War against the *Turks*. The Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, and *Matthias Corvin* King of *Hungary*, often call'd him in their Letters, The Tamer of the *Ottomans*, and the Support of the
*Church.

Church. *Caoursin* calls him, The Father of his Countrey, the Protector of the Unfortunate, and the Invincible Defender of *Rhodes*. *Victorellus*, in his Additions to *C. Ciaconius*, says, That all was great in him, his Wit, his Courage, and his Piety : That being invested with the Sacred Purple, he was never the more remiss in Military Duties ; and that he had perform'd at one time Actions worthy of a Holy Cardinal, and a Generous Souldier. The same Author adds, That the Magnanimous *D' Aubusson*, in all the Conduct of his Life, had no other aim, then onely the Glory of God, and Honour of his Order ; That he govern'd his Subjects with as much Lenity as Justice ; and that his Paternal Goodness was principally eminent towards the Poor. The Ecclesiastical History speaks of him as of a most admirable Person, and one that merited all manner of Applause. In short, the History of the Knights

Knights of St. John extolls him
above all the Grand Masters,
equals him to the Hero's of An-
tient times, and propounds him as
a Model to all the Princes of Chri-
stendom.

CONTINUATION

Of the

HISTORY

OF

Rhodes,

Under the Government of *Philip
de Villiers Lisle Adam,*

*Containing the Siege of Solymian the
Magnificent, no less famous then
that, Mahomet the II.*

UPon the death of *Peter
D' Aubusson, Emery D'
Amboise*, Prior of *France*;
then absent, was chosen
in his place; in whose time, though
Bajazet swore to besiege *Rhodes* with
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a puissant Army, yet he attempted nothing. He was a Prince, vertuous, valiant, charitable, and successful in his Enterpizes; so that under his Government the Knights perform'd several notable Exploits to the honour of the Order, and won among the rest that famous Victory at Sea from the Soldan of *Egypt*, signaliz'd by the death of the Soldan's Nephew who commanded the Fleet. To *Emery D' Amboise* succeeded, by a fair Election, *Guy de Blanchefort Prior of Auvergne*. In his time *Sultan Selim* having caus'd his Father *Bajazet* to be strangl'd, and put to death *Achmac* and *Corcutt*, his two Brothers, with their Wives and Children, possess'd himself of the Empire; wherein he was no sooner settl'd, but he design'd to lay siege to *Rhodes*. The Report whereof alarum'd the Grand Master to make preparations for his defence; wherein he proceeded as far as could be expected, considering the short time of his Government; for in less then a year he dy'd, and left his place to be supply'd by the *Admiral de Carretta*,
who

who the first thing he did, made a League with *Ishmael Sophi* the King of *Persia* against *Selim*. For understanding that the *Turk* still continu'd his vast preparations for War, he thought it was but a piece of common Providence to provide for himself. But the Storm fell upon the Sol-dan of *Egypt*, who being overthrown in Battel, lost all *Syria*, together with his life, in the first place; and soon after his Successor, having twice unfortunately fought *Selim* himself, and being by him at length taken and hang'd upon one of the Gates of *Caire*, lost all *Egypt*, of which *Selim* made himself absolute Master. But whether *Selim* intended any mischief against *Rhodes* or no, his death hasten'd the fate of *Rhodes*; for upon that the Empire fell to his Son *Solymon* the Magnificent, the shock of whose fury and puissance; upon the death of the *Admiral Caretta*; *Philip de Villiers Lisle Adam* Prior of *France*, was chosen to withstand; being elected Grand Master the 22d. of January, 1521. whose deportment in so Grand a

Ff 2 Siege

1521

Siege would he too unkindly left out, where D' *Aubusson's* Fame is so honourably expanded; it being certain that never two Courages were better mated in story. Never was a City more valiantly defended, nor more valiantly lost. And it is a question undetermin'd whether of the two got most, *Amurath* by rising from it, or *Solyman* by taking it; while the one prudently sav'd, the other became a meer prodigal of blood. *Philip de Villiers* was absent at the time of his being elected, and therefore *Gabriel de Pomerols* was chosen his Lieutenant till his arrival. Which dignity while he executed, he thought fit to send to the Pope a Model of the City of *Rhodes*, that he might see how it was fortifi'd. But that which might have prov'd of higher concern, was the arrival of another Embassador from the *Grand Sophi*, to continue that private correspondence which was begun with *Carretta*. Unluckily he finds *Carretta* dead; so that his Commission being at an end, he went to visit *Amurath* the Son of *Sultan Zelim*, in the behalf

behalf of the *Sophi*. That young Prince was entertain'd by the Order at their own Expences in the Castle of *Ferracra*, whither the Knights sent several Presents to the young Sultan, that he might be able to gratifie the Embassador, who soon after return'd home to his own Prince, not so much as mentioning any thing of the business for which he was sent.

The Grand Master being in *France* at the time of his Election, made all the haste he could to his charge, departing from *Marseilles* in the Carrack of *Rhodes*, together with four other hir'd Vessels. But his Voyage seem'd to be somewhat inauspicious. For one of the Vessels was split by the way; and the great Carrack it self had like to have been burnt; being all on fire through the carelessness of the Cook, but was happily quench'd again through the industry and authority of the Grand Master. More then this, having past by *Nice* and *Corfica*, a flash of lightning shot it self into the main Cabin of the Carrack, and melted his Sword without hurting the

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Scabbard. Which little accidents were by some interpreted as ill omens of the success of the Siege of the *Rhodes*, that soon after happen'd. *Cortogoli* also, the Grand *Turkish* Pirate laid way to intercept the Grand Master, with a great number of Gallies and Galeots, partly out of hopes of booty, partly to revenge the death of his Brothers which the Knights of *Rhodes* had slain, and to set the third at liberty; being then a slave in *Rhodes*. However the Grand Master, contrary to the advice and entreaties of the Knights and great Personages that attended him, with full sails made the Cape of *St. Angelo*; and in the night time pass'd the place where the *Turks* lay in wait for him, and arriv'd

Sept. 11. safe in *Rhodes*. *Cortogoli*,
 1421. mad that he had so miss'd his prey, some time after enters into the Channel of *Rhodes*, hoping by his unlookt for coming to find some opportunity to do mischief. But being discover'd, the Grand Master sent forth the *Rhodian* Fleet against him, the fight whereof not only put him

him to flight, but made him forsake a Vessel of *Canalia* which he had almost taken.

While things were thus transacted at *Rhodes*, *Solyman* being come to the Empire, contrary to the Opinion of all men, that he would be a peaceable Prince; soon after displaying the inordinate Ambition of his Predecessors, with a vast power of men besieg'd *Belgrade* in *Hungary*, and took it. This Victory swell'd him up; so that burning with a desire to conquer *Rhodes*, yet willing to conceal his design, that he might the better make his preparations, he sent an Ambassador to the Grand Master, to whom he deliver'd a Letter, written in the Greek Language, wherein he magnifi'd the Grandeur of his Empire, and his Victories, highly extoll'd the Vertues of the Grand Master, and offer'd him peace and friendship. The Grand Master, and those of the Council immediately understood the craft and fallacy of *Solyman*, and that being young and full of Ambition, his courage and deliberations tended to other

designs then the Tenor of his Letter imply'd. And therefore there was an Answer return'd him in the name of the Grand Master; by which he plainly understood that he was discover'd; that the *Rhodians* neither fear'd nor trusted him; so that he was likely to find it a far more difficult task to conquer them, then he had found at *Belgrade*. Therefore he enter'd into several consultations about this Enterprize, concerning which the most part of his Council laid before him the difficulties he would meet with, and dissuaded him from hazarding either his Forces or his Reputation upon an attempt so unlikely to succeed. And indeed *Mustapha Basba*, and *Curtogoli* were the only persons that fix'd him in his Resolution. Among other things they represented to him that there was no other means for him peaceably to enjoy the Provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria*; for that the shortest and only way for him to receive intelligence from thence, and to send thither, was cut off by the Knights of *Rhodes*, who spread themselves upon those Seas, and

and intercepted all his Vessels. For which reason he was constrain'd to keep a Fleet alwaies out at Sea: Besides, that as long as those of the Order kept footing in *Rhodes*, they would be continually animating and inciting the Christian Princes to make War upon him, and to league themselves together for the Recovery of the holy Land. He had found among the private Memoirs of *Selim* his Father, that the onely way for him to secure his own affairs, was to make himself Master of *Belgrade* and *Rhodes*; by the scituation whereof the Christians had alwaies an opportunity to bring the War into the midst of his Territories. He was also importun'd and press'd thereto by the complaints of the Inhabitants of *Metelin*, *Negropont*, *Caramania*, the *Morea*, and his new Subjects of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who were perpetually alarum'd, pillag'd, and plunder'd by those of the Order. He was also the more incited thereto by the opportunity which presented it self by reason of the Divisions and Wars between *Charles* the fifth and the

the King of *France*, from whom all the main Succour must come, which the Knights could expect: and more then all this, by the daily intelligence which he had receiv'd from a Jewish Physician, whom *Selim* had sent to live in *Rhodes* for a Spy. This Physician expert in his Art, had perform'd many excellent Cures, and by his officiousness and diligence toward all people had so insinuated himself into the acquaintance and favour of the Principal Knights of the Order, that he easily div'd into their secrets; and sent his Advices to a Greek of *Scio*, who convey'd them to *Constantinople*. Among other things he advertiz'd *Solyman*, that there was a great part of the Wall thrown down near the Bulwark of *Auvergne* to be rebuilt according to the Design and Directions of the Engineers, so that the City might be easily surpriz'd, if his Fleet came in time to attacque it in that place. But the best Intelligence that *Solyman* receiv'd was giv'n him by *Andrew D' Amarall*, Prior of *Castile*, and afterward Chancellor of the Order,

Order, who bare in his mind a mortal hatred and enmity against the Grand Master, ever since the difference that happen'd between them ever since the Battel of *Layasso*; and against the Order it self, for that notwithstanding all his underhand dealing for the Honour, they had elected with an unanimous consent, the Grand Master, both for his merit and his virtues. This venom of Ambition, Malice and Revenge so strongly possess'd him, and gain'd so far upon him, as to make him resolve upon this hideous Act of Treason. The day of the Election he was heard to say, that this would be the last Grand Master of *Rhodes*: And some daies before the Siege, he wish'd his soul in the hands of the Devil, so that *Rhodes* and the Order might be ruin'd. He had in his service a Turkish slave, of a quick and ready apprehension, to whom he pretended to have giv'n his Liberty, as being ransom'd. This slave he sent to *Constantinople* with a particukar and exact discovery of the State of the City, of the Provisions and Ammunition

tion therein, and what Corn was wanting; perswading the Great Turk to send his Fleet with all speed, promising him a certain Victory, and to give him all the Intelligence that should be requisite.

Solyman found this to be sound Intelligence, knowing that *Amaral* was one of the Principal Knights, and being of their Council, knew whatever was decreed or voted for the defence of the City; and sent back the slave laden with gifts, and promises of future rewards. *Amaral* entertain'd him, pretending he had brought his Ransom. This Action caus'd in many an extream dislike, and a general suspicion of him, but by reason of his Dignity and Authority, there were none that durst to speak their minds freely.

In the mean time *Leo* deceas'd, after he had govern'd the Papacy eight years; and *Solyman* made all his preparations as privately as possibly he cou'd, giving it out that he intended either for *Apulia* or *Cyprus*. Nevertheless the Grand Master was advertiz'd

tiz'd of every thing by his Spies; and being assur'd that he should be besieg'd, sat in Council every day; and as often did *Amarall* labour to suppress the report of the Siege, as much as in him lay, to divert and hinder the Order from making those Provisions which were necessary for their defence; instancing how often such Rumours had been in vain, and how needless it was for the Order to put themselves to unnecessary charges at a time when their Exchequer ran low. However the Grand Master receiv'd more certain and pregnant Intelligence by a Ragusian, a person of understanding, and one that had the Turkish Language at command, whom he had sent to *Constantinople* for a Spy, that the Grand Signior was setting forth a vast number of Ships, and preparing all sorts of Engines of War, and Guns of an extraordinary bigness; and that there was a stop upon all persons going to *Rhodes* without the leave of the Governours. Thereupon the Grand Master making no farther doubt of the Truth, put all hands to the fortifications

fications, giving the charge thereof to the Knights, *Anthony Brito*, a *Portoguese*, and *Francis Nueres* of the Priory of *Aquitaine*. He also made provision of Ovens and Mills, and Lodgings for the Country people that should retire into the City. While these things were in hand, he sent to Pope *Adrian*, of whom he earnestly requested succour against the Turks; as also to the Emperour and the King of *France*, but in vain, because they were then in open War one against the other.

As for the Pope, he rather prejudic'd, then assisted them. For the *Italian* Knights being inform'd that he conferr'd every day *Commanderies* in *Italy* to their detriment, complain'd to the Council of *Rhodes*, and desir'd leave that they might go altogether to *Rome*, to make their complaints to his Holiness; which Liberty, considering the State of Affairs, was at that time deny'd them. Thus was the Pope the Occasion of an unreasonable disorder. For upon this the *Italians* openly complain'd of the Grand Master,

ster, while the Chancellor *Amarall* secretly blew the bellows of dissention, and carry'd it so far, as to deny their service to the Order, and to obey the Commands of the Grand Master. Thereupon the Grand Master depriv'd of their habit three of the Principal Ring-leaders, *Gabriel Solier*, *James Palavicino*, and *Lewis Moroso*. And to justify himself, he referr'd the whole to the consideration and examination of the Council, who made their report, that the Grand Master had done nothing but what was just, prudent and rational. However some of the Knights fearing the mischief of Commotion and Alteration at such a conjuncture, made it their business to pacify the *Italians*, laying before them, that the world would think and could not judge otherwise, but that they fought for a pretence to go to *Rome*, not so much for the sake of their Commanderies, as to escape the danger of the approaching Siege. Whereby the persuaders wrought so far, that the Mutineers laid aside their anger, made their excuses and return'd

to

to the Obedience of the Grand Master, who as kindly embrac'd and pardon'd them.

This bustle being over, there arriv'd at *Rhodes* an Agent from *Peri Bascha*, who deliver'd a Letter to the Grand Master, wherein the *Bascha* invited him to a Treaty of Peace with the Grand Signior, assuring him that if he sought it, he should be well receiv'd; and advising him withall to send for that purpose persons of Quality to the Port. The Ambassador also deliver'd other Letters from the Grand Signior himself, much to the same effect. Most part of the Council, considering the Age of *Peri*, who was ancient, and his known prudence and moderation, had a good opinion of the Truth of the Embassie, inso-much that they resolv'd to send to *Constantinople* the Chevalier *Marquet Cataline*, and with him a *Rhodian* named *Castrophylaca*, a person of great judgment, and well skill'd in the Turkish Language, to conclude a Peace in the same manner as it had been concluded in the time of *D' Arbousson*.

Bussou. But when they were consulting about their Instructions, some better considering of the business, began to be of opinion; that *Peri* was only a dissembler, and observ'd that *Solymans* Letter gave no credence to that of *Peri*, and that it was not practicable to send an Embassadour without a safe conduct in ample manner from the Grand Signiour. While they were in these doubts, the Grand Master was advertiz'd that *Peri's* Embassadour wandred about the City; and with a diligent eye observ'd the Fortifications, and made enquiries after the Quantity of Provisions, the number of Souldiers, and what relief was expected. This open'd the eyes of the Council and gave them to understand that they were abus'd, and that the Embassadour was only come as a spie. Thereupon they presently sent him away; ordering a Greek of mean Quality to go along with him, to whom they gave two Letters, one to *Solyman*, the other to the *Basba*, where in a few words the Grand Master declar'd that he had intelligence of

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every thing, and that he had neither any thought or fear of the Grand Signiour, or of his forces. Nevertheless he desir'd a safeconduct for an Embassadour, and offer'd to restrain the Incursions of those of the Order. The Embassadour being arriv'd at *Port Fisco*, found Horses there ready for him, and went Post to *Constantinople*, leaving the Greek behind; who being unwilling to travel alone through an Enemies Country so far a journey, return'd to *Rhodes* in the same Vessel that carry'd him. By which miscarriage every one was then ascertain'd that the Embassie was but only a deceit, and that the Town would suddenly be besiedg'd.

The City was well provided of Flesh, pulse, and wheat, of which there was enough all the time of the siege; & as for warlike munitions it was thought there had bin enough, though the Siege had lasted a whole year. But they found it otherwise, for they spent a great quantity to hinder the approaches of the Enemies Trenches: besides the continual wast of powder and shot day

day & night against so many thousands of busy Enemies. Thereupon the Chevalier *Antonie Bosio*, a person of a quick Capacity, and one who did many services for the Order, while he liv'd, was sent into *Candy* for wine, and to make a Levy of Archers; but the *Candiots*, afraid of the *Turk*, forbid him to raise any men; However under pretence of a convoy for his freight, he brought away four hundred Archers, which did eminent service all the time of the Siege. The same *Bosio* met also upon the Sea with a *Venetian*, whose name was *Anthony Bonaldi*, coming from *Alexandria* in a great Vessel laden with Wine and bound for *Constantinople*. But *Bosio* perswaded him to alter his Course, and bring his Cargo to *Rhodes*; where after he had sold his Wine, he put himself and his men into the service of the Order, and behav'd himself during the siege, like a person of great valor. And now intelligence came from all parts, especially from the Duke of *Nixia*, that the Gallies were lanching, and that the whole fleet would depart at the Latter end of *May*.

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Thereupon the Grand Master caus'd a General Muster to be made as well of the Knights, as of the other Soldiers. As to those of the Habit, there appear'd one and fifty of the Language of *Province*; 26 of that of *Auvergne*; Sixty two of *France*; Forty seven of *Italy*; Fifty one of *Arragon, Catalogne* and *Navar*; Eleven of *England*; Six of *Germany*; Fifty seven of *Castile*; besides 13 others more that kept guard in the Castle of *St. Nicholas*. The whole Garrison consisted of about 5000 men. After the muster was thus made, the Grand Master appointed to every Commander his particular duty, what Posts, what Bastions to keep or relieve as necessity requir'd; and what Knights to be continually about his own person. Particularly *William Watson* commanded the English Post. *Nicholas Hussy* the English Bastion; and *Thomas Sheffeld* was Captain of *St. Anthonies Gate*.

The City was in this posture, when there was a signal made by fire from *Fisco*, that there were some persons there which desir'd to parley. Thereupon

upon the Grand Master sent the Knight *Boniface D'Alluys* a *Provençal* thither with his Gally. When he came near the place where the fire was, certain horsemen that stood upon the shore gave the Knight to understand that they had a Letter to deliver from the Grand Signiour; and invited him a shoar: But the Knight too well understanding the humour of the *Turks*, told them he had but a short time to stay, and therefore if they had any thing to say, they should dispatch quickly, otherwise he would not tarry. Thereupon the *Turks* threw a Letter ty'd to a stone into the Galley; which Letter was deliver'd to the Grand Master, and read in Council. In this Letter *Solyman* demanded that *Rhodes* should be surrender'd up to him, promising security, and good usage to all in general, with liberty to the Inhabitants to enjoy their own Laws and Religion, permission to them that would depart freely with their families and estates, and great advantages to them that would take up Armes in his service. Otherwise he threaten'd utterly

to ruin the City, walls and Towers, and to make the Inhabitants all slaves. To this the Council thought it not convenient to return any answer, but to stand resolutely upon their guard. Thereupon the Grand Master having certain advice that the Fleet was under sail, defac'd all the Gardens without the City, beginning with his own, and caus'd the Earth and rubbish to be carry'd into the Town, where it was of great use for the repair of breaches. He sent also for the Country people in, poyson'd the waters, and burnt the Corn and straw that remain'd upon the Ground. The Vanguard of the Fleet that first appear'd consisted of 30 Gallies; out of which some few of the *Turks* landed in *Lango* to burn and pillage according to their custom. But the Commander of the Fort mounting all his men, charg'd them so vigorously, that having slain five or six, and taken three prisoners, he drove the rest to their Gallies, though his own Horse were kill'd under him, and some few of his men wounded. Thereupon the *Turks* left *Lango*, and made to the
Jews

Jews Castle, and so entring the Gulf of *Effimes*, about fifteen miles from *Rhodes* they were first discover'd by the sentinels from Mount *Sallac*. The 24th. of *June*, being St. *Johns* day, the *Turks* came to an anchor on that side of *Rhodes*, where stood the Castle *Favit*. There they landed, and burnt the Corn upon the ground, & the same day the body of the Fleet appear'd in the Gulf of *Effimes*, where the 30 Galleys joyn'd with the main Body. And yet the danger being so neer, there happen'd almost as dangerous a Contest between the *Auvergnian*, and *German* Languages; while the *Germans* pretended that one part of the new *Bastion* next St. *Georges* Gate belong'd to them, and the *Auvergnians*, claim'd it to themselves; insomuch that they had like to have come to blows. But the Grand Master interposing his Authority, the decision of the controverſie was referr'd to the next General Chapter. In the meantime it was order'd that no other ensigns should be set up there but those of the Grand Master and of the Order.

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The 26 of June the whole Fleet was discover'd making directly from the Gulf of *Effimes* for *Rhodes*; and coming to that part of the Isle which is call'd the *Foss* or *Hole*, 8 miles from *Rhodes*, they came to an Anchor; which not a little consternated the women and common people of the City. But the Grand Master without the least shew of Alteration in his Countenance, with his accustomed constancy and serenity, went up and down from place to place providing for every thing; and that very day, which seem'd to be the most terrible, caus'd Service to be said, and Processions to be made with the same order and tranquility, as if it had bin in a time of undisturb'd peace. After that, he caus'd the Gates to be shut, and issu'd out of his palace arm'd, and attended by his guards, causing the Drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound, the Souldiers to take their appointed Posts, and set up the standards and ensigns upon the several Towers and *Bastions*, which a far off afforded a noble and magnificent sight, reviv'd the courage of the Souldiery, and settled

bled the Resolution of the people. In the mean time the 30 Galleys made up to Cape St. *Martin*, there to keep Guard, and to surprize such Vessels as should come to bring relief to the besieged. Late in the evening the whole Fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, left the *Foss* or *Hole*, and passing by the Port at three miles distance, came and rode in another part of the Island at a place call'd *Parambolin*, six miles from the City; because it was a rode secure from the West winds that blow hard in that Channel. Some dayes after the rest of the Fleet joyn'd, and lay there at an Anchor all the time of the Siege.

There were in this Fleet a hundred Galleys, besides the thirty before mentioned; thirty great Galeasses, fifteen Mahons, twenty Flat-bottom'd Boats, sixty Fusts, and a great number of Brigantines, ten or twelve great Ships, as big as Gallions, carrying provisions. Some few daies after arriv'd more from *Syria*, and other parts; so that the whole Fleet consisted of 400 Sail of all sorts, and the Army of two hundred

hundred thousand men, of which sixty thousand were Pioneers.

The same day that the Fleet arriv'd at *Parambolin*, the Grand Master dispatch'd the Chevalier *Bresols* to the Pope, the Chevalier *Andugar* to the Emperour and King of *Spain*, and the Chevalier *D'Ansonville* to the Kings of *England* and *France*, to give them notice of the Siege, and to crave succour. Other Knights he dispatch'd away to buy all the Ammunition and war-like Provisions they could, and to hasten back with all speed to *Rhodes*. He also sent away summons to the absent Knights, to repair forthwith to the defence of their Island.

The *Turks* were thirteen daies before they made one shot, or any other attempt, by reason that the *Lycian* Army was not come up; but no sooner was that Army enter'd the Island, but the *Turks* began to set up their Pavilions, and to lodge their Camp in a place out of the reach of the *Rhodian* Artillery, to land their Guns, mount and plant them, open their Trenches, and make their approaches. Then it was

was that the Grand Master left his own Palace, and took up his Quarters in *St. Marys* of the *Victorie*, as being the weakest part of the City, and upon which the *Turks* in ther former Siege had made their chieftest Assaults. At the same time also the *Turks*, for a beginning, rais'd a little Penthouse of Boards, from whence they shot at the Posts of *England* and *Provence*. But the Artillery from the Town immediately ruin'd it, and kill'd the Cannoners. After that they rais'd two other Batteries upon the Hill of *Saint Cosmus*, and *St. Damian*, and shot against the Posts of *England* and *Spain*, but the shot from the City ruin'd those in the same manner.

As the *Turks* were labouring to advance their Trenches to the place where they design'd to plant their Canon, the besieg'd were very desirous to make a Salley; to which the Grand Master having giv'n his consent, *St. Athanasius's* Gate was open'd, and out they fell upon those that were working in the Trenches; with whom they made such work, that the *Turks*

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were all cut to pieces, before any relief could come to them. But then the besieged observing a great Body making toward them, retir'd skirmishing under the *English* and *Spanish* Guns, which then playing upon the Enemy, made a dreadful havock among them, in regard they came on so thick, that it was impossible for a bullet to miss. The Christians afterwards made some Sallies with like success; but because some one or other still fell, the Grand Master considering that the loss of one man was more to him then the loss of a hundred to the Enemy, forbid any more Sallies to be made: For it was observ'd, that during the Siege the first Army was recruited with above a hundred thousand men; which was an easie thing for them to do, having the Land so near them to befriend them, and such a number of Vessels every day ready at command.

The Salleys being over, the *Turks* advanc'd their Trenches with more freedom. So that they rais'd in several places above sixty Batteries, chiefly against

against the Ports of *England, Provence, Spain and Italy*; but the Artillery from the Town overthrew so many, that only thirty four remain'd.

At that time arriv'd at *Rhodes* a Gentleman whose name was *Gabriel Radin Martinengo*, a person well known for his skill in Fortifications, whom *Bozio* had perswaded to leave *Candy* and come to the assistance of the *Rhodians*. Him the Grand Master highly honour'd, gave him the habit of the Order, and permission to wear the Cross; made him supernitendant over the Artillery, with a promise of the first Vacancy that fell in the *Italian* Language: honours which he highly deserv'd, by carrying himself so nobly and vertuously all the time of the Siege.

Now that the Grand Master might set him at work, he signifi'd his desire to know the condition of the *Turkish* Army, and what they intended to do. Whereupon, a Mariner, born in *Trebizond*, then in the service of the Order, took seven or eight young men of his acquaintance, and having shav'd
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and clad themselves in Turkish Habit, they took Melons, Cowcumbers, and other fruits, and secretly embark'd themselves the next night: and avoyding the Turkish Fleet, made out to the Sea, and so return'd by break of day in sight of *Rhodes*, as if they had come from *Turky*. From thence they made to the *Cape* which is nearest to *Lycia*, where the Merchants met from all parts to sell Refreshments of all sorts to the Army. There they put to sale their Melons and Cowcumbers, and frankly inquir'd what news of the Army. The *Turks*, who took them for natural *Turks*, as willingly satisfy'd them, and told them the whole condition of their Forces. When they had sold all, and understood all, they made out to Sea again, having receiv'd two *Turks* into their Vessel, with much entreaty, that were weary of an Army Life. Those they bound hand and foot, and brought along with them into *Rhodes*, and presented to the Grand Master, who order'd the *Prior* of *St. Giles*, and *Martinego* to examin them. These two *Turks* being

ing carry'd up to the steeple of *St. John*, shew'd the *Prior* and *Martinengo* how the Quarters of the Turkish Army were dispos'd; told them the Number of the Souldiers; that *Solyman* himself was speedily expected; that the Souldiers grew out of heart, and mutined against their Commanders, being weary of a war, to which they cry'd they were lead as to a Slaughter House, with many other things not believ'd at first, as being thought to have bin spoken out of flattery, or to procure good entertainment to themselves, but which were indeed really true. For *Peri Basba* observing a manifest and dangerous Mutiny in the Army, dispatch'd away a Courrier to *Solyman* to give him Intelligence, and to supplicate him to come in person forthwith, that he might put a stop to the sedition by his presence and Authority. *Solyman* flies through *Asia* the less with an incredible speed, and embarking at Port *Fisco*, arriv'd in *Rhodes* the 28th. of *July*, where he was receiv'd with great triumph, and lodg'd himself four or five miles from the City at a place call'd

call'd *Megalandra*, out of the reach of the Canon. *Solyman* held a council, and resolv'd upon a strict enquiry whence the Mutiny proceeded, and a severe punishment of the Authors. But *Peri Basha* by his grave remonstrances soon softned and appeas'd his wrath. He laid before him that this mutiny rather proceeded from fear & an apprehension of danger then from Malice or Rebellion, and that therefore his Majesty might by his authority reduce them to their duty, knowing that the *Turks* had the *Ottoman* name in so much Veneration, that upon his appearance they would soon recollect themselves, and return to their Obedience; but that Rigour was now unreasonable, especially against the old Soldiers, without whose assistance he could never compass so great a design as the taking of *Rhodes*. *Solyman* hearken'd to his advice, assembled all the Army together, made them lay down their Armes, and prostrate themselves upon the Ground: then sitting on a Royal Throne, under a Rich Canopy, turning his face this way and
“ that

" that way with a Majestick and stern
 " Countenance, He first accus'd their
 " Infidelity; hightn'd the injuries done
 " by the Knights of *Rhodes* to his Sub-
 " jects; advanc'd his own power, his
 " Triumphs and his Victories; upbrai-
 " ded the Old Souldiers of Ingratitude,
 " as having enrich'd themselves by his
 " fortune in war; of Cowardice, to
 " let such a handful of men make head
 " against such a Potent and flourishing
 " Army. Lastly, said he, am not I here
 " the Companion of your dangers?
 " Nor will I part from hence till I
 " have them in my power. I swear
 " it by the holy head of divine *Ma-*
 " *bonet*; and if I fail, may my King-
 " domes and my house be ruin'd, and
 " my own person perish eternally. Go
 " then, and think of nothing else but
 " what you are commanded. Nor let
 " any man distrust my clemency, nor
 " my word, but build upon my Libera-
 " lity. For I am here the spectator and
 " judge of your Valour & your Merits.

Solyman had no sooner ended his
 Harangue, but he withdrew into his Pa-
 vilion, and commanded that the Sould-

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diers should be all sworn anew to their Captaines. And from that time it was, that the Souldiers recover'd their courage, became more obedient and deliberate, and proceeded in all things with more order and conduct. Now they continu'd their batteries more terribly then before. They also play'd in three several places with two great brass-Cannons like Morter-Peices, that carry'd marble-bullets of a prodigious weight, and yet all the harm then to kill 25 men, and the Chevalier *Lyoncel* that commanded the Bastion of *Cosquin*. This battery they left off by the advice of the Jewish Physitian, who gave them notice how little good it had done. After the *Turks* made it their busness to advance their trenches, and to fill up the moats with Earth; and though the Artillery of the Christians continually fir'd upon them, nevertheless they gave not over their work till they had finish'd a great battery between the *Spanish* and *Arverg-nian* Post, and another against that of *Italy*, and there they lodg'd their Cannon that play'd upon the besieg'd so furiously

furiously that they durst not peep above the battlements, till they had made themselves new defences of wood and planks, upon which the Besiegers having advanc'd their trenches to the side of the Moat, made certain gaps in the wall on their side, through which they much annoy'd the defendants with their Musket-shot, and kill'd some few of them. In the mean while the Captains lodg'd themselves in their Trenches: *Mustapha* the General against the Bul-wark of *England*, *Peri* against the *Italian* Post, *Achmat* against that of *Spain*, and *Auvergne*, with the *Aga* of the *Jahisaries*; the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia* against that of *France*; the *Beglerbey* of *Romania* against the Gardens of *St. Antony*, who began a battery at the beginning of *August*, against the *German* Post, which was weak, and without any platform. Nevertheless the Grand Master caus'd it to be fortify'd within with intrenchments of Earth, great pieces of Timber-planks, and Bavines, and play'd his Artillery so thick from several places and Posts on that side, so that

he dismounted the Artillery, and overthrew the batteries of the *Turks* till they were weary of repairing them, and so remov'd them.

By this time it was that the *Rhodians* began to find the want of their powder, and though the Grand Master continually employ'd fourteen of his own horses to bray saltpeter, and other materials proper to make powder in a sure and well-guarded place, yet the besieged were forc'd to be very sparing of their powder, which gave great advantage to the enemy. The *Turks* seeing no good to be done on that side, play'd upon the steeple of *St. Johns Church*, and beat it down, upon advice giv'n them by the Jewish Physician, that from thence the Christians discover'd what was done in the Camp. The ruin of this steeple being a lovely structure was much lamented by the Inhabitants. This done, the Beliegers under the command of the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia* remov'd their batteries against the Tower of *St. Nicholas*, which they furiously play'd upon for the space of ten days with
twelve

twelve great pieces of Canon; but the Artillery from the Tower broke and ruin'd all their batteries, so that the *Beglerbey* was constrain'd to change the form of his batteries, to remove his mantlets; (which are made of Earth close ramm'd, and clos'd with boards fasten'd together with great spars of timber) to dismount his Guns; and plant them in the night upon great platforms without gabions or Mantlet, with which playing securely all the night, when day appear'd they cover'd them again with Earth and grave!. Thus they made above 500 shot which onely beat down a pane of the wall on the west-side, through which appear'd another good wall, and so many stout defendants, that these difficulties being related to *Solyman*, he caus'd the said Battery to be remov'd, whereby the Chevalier *Castellaine* Captain of St. *Nicholas-Tower* acquir'd great honour. At the same time the *Turks* rais'd 14 Mantelets against the Posts of *England* and *Spain*, upon which they planted Guns of a prodigious bigness, and play'd upon them

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for a month together, so that they ruin'd the new wall of the *English* Platform, while the old wall stood entire; beside that they brought through their trenches unto the Moat three huge peices of Canon, with which they leuell'd the defences of the Bastion of *Spain*, and beat down the wall, by the ruins whereof the *Turks* might easily mount the Bastion. The same Battery they rais'd against the Bastion of *Provence* with three peices of Canon planted upon the side of the Moat, and in a small time threw down more then the besiegers in a long time were able to repair. Then the Grand Master leaving *St. Maries of the Victory* came to *St. Athanasius* Gate, and lodg'd himself under the *English* wall, and there he constituted four Captains, allotting to each ten Knights, besides the Ordinary Guard to succour and preserve the *English* wall. Besides all this, the *Turks* continually play'd with their *Sacres* and *Falcons*, and other small Artillery; and the besieged did the like, which stood them in no small stead to ruin their Mantlets, and

and dismount their peices. Among the rest, a Culverin shot pierced through a Mantlet upon one piece, kill'd five men, and carry'd away both legs of the *Turkish* Canoneer, of which he dy'd. *Solyman* was much troubl'd for his loss, insomuch that he said he had rather have lost one of his Basha's. Nor was the *Italian* Post more mercifully hand'd, which was continually batter'd by seventeen pieces of Canon, so that it had bin an easy thing to have mounted the wall by the ruins that fell into the Moat. Yet though this long battery had made a great breach in the *Italian* Post, yet would not the besiegers venture an assault, but onely continu'd to make their approaches and to ruin the entrenchments, and defences of the besieged. Which the Chevalier *Martengo* seeing, with the Grand Masters permission, made a sally with about an hundred choice men, and falling upon the Enemy unawares, kill'd & put to flight whatever stood in their way, and so with one prisoner and the head of another, return'd with

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great applause. The *Turks* that came in heaps to the relief of their own, were miserably torn to pieces by the Artillery of the Town, having no shelter, and lost a greater number in their retreat than *Martinengo* slew.

This being the condition of the City, the Grand Master, who knew it would not be long ere they gave a General Assault, dispatch'd away *Bosio* to the Pope, and his Secretary into *Provence* and to the King of *France*, beseeching them to hasten the succours which he expected from them. Being also desirous to know what news was in the *Turkish* Camp, one *Carpathio* a *Rhodian* undertook to satisfy him, and getting out of the Port in a Brigantine with a crew of good Souldiers clad after the *Turkish* manner, he coasted along the shoar as far as the *Foss*, where he saw several Souldiers that were taking the fresh Air by the Sea-side, who immediately discover'd him. The *Rhodiot* put on a bold face, and in the *Turkish* Language call'd to them aloud, and told them, the *Basba* had sent for them,

them, which they easily believ'd, and went aboard the *Brigantine*. One of the *Turks* finding he was in the wrong, drew his Sword and wounded the *Rhodiot* in the thigh, for which the *Rhodian* repay'd him by cutting off his head; the rest being elev'n, were easily master'd, and brought to the Grand Master.

Now *Martinengo* seeing the great ruins which the Enemies Artillery had made, rais'd barricadoes, and wrought entrenchments upon the walls, where he planted a good number of Guns, which playing into the Enemies Trenches, kill'd a great Number of the *Turks*; he also lodg'd several Souldiers under the shelter of the houses, who shot incessantly, and made a great slaughter.

The Batteries of the *Turks* not succeeding to their wishes, they fell to mining; and had in several parts of the City made above forty, so that of six parts of the City, five in a few days were undermin'd. But the most part of those Mines prov'd ineffectual, because of the Counter-mines which were

were continually made round about. There was one that was perceiv'd in the midst of the Trench of *Provence*. But *Martinengo* immediately enter'd the Trench, open'd the Mine, and casting in barrels of Powder and other combustible stuff, burnt and stifled all the *Turks* within. Another Mine the *Turks* made under the Bulwark of *England* which play'd the fourth of *September*, and blew up above seven times nine foot of the wall, and fill'd the Moat so full of rubbish, that the *Turks*, that they might easily mount the wall, and come on furiously to the Assault with their accustom'd cries, gain'd the top of the Bastion immediately, and set up seven of their Colours, and had made themselves masters of it, but for an Intrenchment which *Martinengo* had made the day before, which stood entire about four foot from the Ruins of the wall. That Intrenchment stopt the Enemy; and thither the Knights ran and came to a close fight with Pike and Sword; while others did great mischief to the Enemy with hand-Gradoes and other Artificial fires; and there

there it was that *Martinengo* and the Chevelier *de Bidoux* did wonders, becoming men of Extraordinary valour and courage. Here they came to Sword and Dagger, and even to collar one another; the *Turks* perceiving that if they could but get the victory here, they might easily get into the City. And indeed that small handful of Christians that sustain'd the weight of such a multitude, could not have bin able to have held out, had not the Grand Master, upon the noise of the blowing up of the Mine hasted to their Relief, and with the Knights of the reserve, and the Souldiers of his guard, rush'd into the midst of his Enemies, and charg'd them so furiously, that in a small time a good part of them were cut to pieces, and the rest so smartly repuls'd, that they quitted the fight, and fled in confusion, and disorder'd and astonish'd those that were coming to their assistance, so that neither the threats, nor Exhortations of the Captains could stop them. Which the General *Mustapha* seeing, flew out of the Trenches in great indignation, crying

crying to the fugitives aloud, that if they would not return to the Assault, he would go on without them, and having so said, boldly march'd toward the breach.

His countenance and Language inspir'd the fugitives with new vigour, so that they rally'd and return'd with their *Basha* more resolutely then before to the Assault, and maintain'd the fight for above two hours. At length the Christians redoubling their courage, and animated by the presence and Example of the Grand Master, fell upon the *Turks* with that fury, that being no longer able to resist, they turn'd their backs; besides the *Rhodian* Canoneers had planted certain pieces against the bottom of the breach which play'd upon the *Turks* retiring, so successfully, that they kill'd more then were slain in the Assault. Two thousand of the *Turks* were slain that day : of the *Rhodians* twelve or fifteen slain outright; and fifteen or twenty wounded. In the midst of these encounters the Chevalier *Didier de Puy* Governour of *Ferrasta* gave notice to the Grand Master,

ster, that he had taken certain *Turks*, who confess'd that there were in *Rhodes* certain Persons of Quality who sent the Enemy Intelligence of what was deliberated & concluded in Council, and of all that was done in the City, and that the *Turks* were digging a large Mine nere *St. John's de Collaccio*. This was no small trouble to the Grand Master, so much the more because he was forc'd to conceal his resentments, by reason that no persons were nam'd. However he promis'd a large reward to those that could discover the Mine. But it was not long before it discover'd it self under the Bastion of *England*, by seven a clock in the morning upon the ninth of *September*, overthrowing about nine yards of the wall next to the Mine before-mention'd, and came to the very barricado's before they met with any resistance. But when the Dread and terroure was once over, the Knights resuming their wonted courage, put the *Turks* to a shameful retreat, till forc'd by the swords and scimitars of their Commanders, even of their General himself, they return'd again

again with more vigour, and renew'd a bloody fight; but the Grand Master coming to the relief of his own with his reserve, fought them with so much fury for three hours, that the *Turks* no longer able to abide so powerful a defence, quitted the fight, and retir'd into their Trenches, leaving one of their Ensignes behind them. This Assault cost the Great *Turk* three thousand of his men, and three *Sangiacs*; of the Christians about 30 were slain and some of the Knights wounded.

The *Turkes* repuls'd with so much loss in two assaults, began again to murmur and discommend the enterprize as rash and impossible. Which *Solyman* perceiving, began to despair, and to be offended against *Mustapha*. The mean time *Peri Bascha* to preserve himself in the good Opinion and favours of the Grand Signiour, press'd him continually to make a furious battery of 17 Canons against the *Italian* Post: But the besieged still repair'd with so much speed and diligence whatever the Enemies Artillery ruin'd, and play'd their great and small shot with

with so much success, that the *Turks* durst hardly peep out of their Trenches. The *Beglerbeg* of *Natolia* did the same against the Post of *Provence*, and fell to mining very industriously, being advis'd thereto by a treacherous *Greek*, who under pretence of trade had well observ'd the strength of the City. But the most remarkable accident was the killing of the Governour of *Negropont*, and *Solyman's* Favorite, who riding by the *Italian* Post richly clad with a red Battoon in his hand, was hit by a musket-bullet from the *Italian* Post, and fell down dead immediately; to the great grief of *Solyman*.

Pers enrag'd against the *Italians*, resolv'd to make a most terrible assault upon their Platform; which he did so unexpectedly and with so much speed, that the sentinels that stood without the Entrenchment were kill'd before they could be succour'd. But the *Italians* taking the Alarm, and being well seconded by the Grand Master and his usual guard, in an hours time the Bastion was well soak'd with the Blood of the *Turks*. *Pers*, finding
such

such a stout resistance here, and believing that other places were left naked, gave immediate order for other forces to assail the New Bastion of the Grand Master *Garretta*; but there the Chevalier *Angelot* Captain of the Bastion so behav'd himself, having a good number of Souldiers and Citizens with him, that the most part of the *Turks* were either kill'd or wounded, and the Flanking Artillery of other Bastions made such havock among the thick multitudes of the *Turks*, that at length, quite dismay'd, they began to retire. *Peri* thereupon seeing the Souldiers would no longer abide the heat of such a terrible encounter, sounded a general Retreat, though with the loss of more men then in the former combats.

Not long after *Mustapha*, covetous to repair his honour, and to regain the favour of the Grand Signiour, resolv'd to give a third assault to the Bastion of *England*. He imparted his resolution to the *Achmet*, who agreed with him at the same time to assail the Bastions of *Spain* and *Auvergne*.

Upon

Upon the 3^d. of September *Mustapha* unexpectedly fell upon the Bastion, mounted the Ruins, and fix'd their Ensigns neer the *Rhodian* Entrenchments, and at the same time endeavour'd to make their way forward. The fight was terrible and doubtful: neither was *Mustapha* wanting in any part of a judicious and couragious Captain. *Achmat* also at the same time play'd two Mines, one in the *Auvergnian*, the other in the *Spanish* Post. The *Auvergnian* Mine prov'd in effectual; the *Spanish* Mine brought down a considerable part of the wall of the *Barbacan* of the said Bastion. And yet for these dreadful Ruins, the Christians so well behav'd themselves in every place, that the *Turks*, having lost above 3000 men, were forc'd to retreat with shame to their Trenches. Two dayes after the *Jewish* Physician (often spok'n of before) was discover'd shooting an Arrow into the *Turkish* Camp, with a Letter fasten'd to the end of it. Thereupon he was apprehended; and upon his examination confess'd that he was a Spy for the

Turks; that he had sent them five Letters; that he had given them several advices; and had encourag'd them to continue the Siege: For which He was condemn'd to be quarter'd.

After these Repulses, and the giving fire to three other Mines soon after, that did little or no harm, the *Basha's* consulted together, and resolv'd to give a general assault upon fore several places of the City all at a time. *Solyman* approv'd their Resolution, assembl'd his Captains together, encourag'd and chear'd them up; and assur'd them of Victory; and by publick Proclamation gave the common Souldiers the whole Plunder of the City. Thus the whole Army resum'd their wonted courage, and full of Hopes prepar'd themselves for a general Assault. As a preparation to which the *Basha's* order the *English* Bulwark, the Posts of *Spain* and *Auvergne*, and the *Italian* Platform to be batter'd for two dayes together, on purpose to widen and enlarge the Breaches.

The Grand Master observing this universal motion of the Enemy, and their

their continual Batteries for 2/ days together, with an extraordinary diligence, prepar'd for his defence. Day and night he visited all the Posts, earnestly besought every one to be watchful and ready; and having taken a little repose in his armes, by break of day he rang'd the Souldiers in their several Posts; and that there might remain no fear or astonishment among them, he made
“ them a short speech, Declaring
“ to them the glorious opportunity
“ which offer'd it self for them to signalize their Zeal for the honour of
“ God, & their fidelity to their Order
“ and the welfare of Christendom; and
“ their affection to a people that had
“ liv'd under their Dominion for above
“ 200 years. He gave them to understand how often they had prov'd
“ their own valour and the timidity
“ of the Enemy. That though their
“ number were great, yet that there
“ was yet a sufficient number left of
“ brave and valiant men to defend
“ a just cause, and repel the force
“ of Ambition and perfidious impiety. That they were to consider
“ their

"their Enemies were a sort of igno-
 "rant people, forc'd on by their Ba-
 "sha's, for fear of incurring the dis-
 "pleasure of their Master, to whom
 "they had represented the enterprize
 "so easy: that they themselves were
 "persons of honour, dedicated from
 "their Infancy to the service of God.
 "And therefore he besought and con-
 "jur'd them to do their duties.

The *Turks* by break of day dis-
 charg'd all their Artillery at once,
 that they might pass the Moat un-
 der the covert of the smoak; and that
 don, they boldly fell on in all places
 at once. The Grand Master posted
 himself in the *English* Bulwark, as be-
 ing the weakest place. Nor was the
Spanish Artillery a little favourable
 to the *English*, flanking the *Turks*, and
 making a great slaughter among them
 insomuch that they were almost rea-
 dy to recoyle; when *Mustapha's*
 Lieutenant throwing himself among
 them, pray'd, entreated, threaten'd,
 promis'd and heading them himself,
 brought them on again; though to
 his cost, being the first man slain with a
 Canon

Canon-Bullet as he was mounting the Ruins. The *Turks* enrag'd by his fall, discharg'd their small shot and arrows like hail upon the *Rhodians*. And *Mustapha* observing their Metall, sent them continually fresh supplies, and with fair words and promises exhorted them to their Duties. Yet could they not force the besieg'd to stir a foot, who in the view of the Grand Master with an invincible courage sustain'd all that Impetuosity, and at the same time fought with equal valour and obstinacy in all the other Quarters. The very women were not unserviceable; while some carry'd Bread, Wine and other refreshments to the Souldiers, others threw stones; others pour'd down boiling Oyle and water upon the Enemy. But the greatest danger of the Combat was in the *Spanish* Post, where the *Aga* General of the *Janissaries*, having pick'd out the choicest of his men, march'd himself to the Assault at the head of them, who follow'd him with such a Resoluton, that they

cover'd all the Breach, gain'd the platform above, and planted forty of their Ensigns upon it, with the same violence rushing on to the *Barricado's*, not minding the prodigious slaughter of their own that fell on every side. Thereupon the Knights and Souldiers in the *Spanish* Bulwark, seeing the distress of those in the Post, ran to the assistance of their friends, leaving only some few for a guard behind. Which certain of the *Turks* that lay conceal'd behind the rubbish perceiving, presently mounted the Bulwark, and made themselves Masters of it; pull'd down the Ensigns of the Christians, and setting up their own, cry'd out in their own Language, *Victory*, and invited their Companions to assist them. Upon which *Achmats* Regiment advanc'd; but the *Auvergnian* & *Spanish* Artillery soon stopp'd their Career, So that the Grand Master being advertiz'd of this new accident, left the *English*, and entering the *Spanish* Post, charg'd the Enemy so vigorously, that he put them absolutely to

to flight. Then seeing the *Spanish* Bastion master'd by the *Turks*, he sent the Commander of *Bourbon* with a Company of stout Souldiers with order to enter the Mine and Casemat, and to mount the Bastion. Which he did so effectually, that in a short time he wholly regain'd it. Notwithstanding all this; the *Aga* with fresh forces return'd to the assault of the *Spanish* Post; and the Grand Master having left a sufficient Guard in the Bastion, return'd to the defence of the same; and sending for two hundred fresh men from *St. Nicholas* Tower, after a bloody fight of six hours, forc'd the *Turks* to abandon their Colours, and to retreat to their trenches, after the loss of above 15000 men. *Solyman* was so highly incens'd against *Mustapha* upon this defeat, that he condemn'd him to be shot to death with arrows. *Peri Basba*, upon the presumption of his Age, his merits, and his Authority, coming to intercede for *Mustapha*, was sentenc'd to the same death. And both had suffer'd

had not *Achmat Bassa* and all the rest of the Principal Commanders, prostrate at *Solyman's* feet, implor'd their pardon.

Solyman seeing all his attempts, upon the City of *Rhodes* so vain and fruitless, fell into such a deep melancholy, that he shut himself up in his Pavilion for several dayes, and would not be seen, resolving to raise the siege and to be gone. The great Commanders whose hopes lay all in the Mines, finding their expectations frustrate, resolv'd to raise the Camp. Nay several had carry'd their baggage to the Sea side, and several Companies had quitted the Trenches. When an *Albanese* Souldier slipping out of the Town, gave intelligence to the *Turks*, that the greatest part of the Knights and Souldiers were either kill'd or wounded in the last General Assault. Other Traytours wrought the same, adviz'd them to stay, assuring them that the City could not hold out two Assaults more. And it was afterwards known that the Chevalier *D'Amara* wrought

wrought to the same purpose, and encouraging the continuance of the siege. Upon this Intelligence the Captains chang'd their Resolutions, divulg'd the news through the Army, and began to batter the City more furiously then before. *Solyman* also to let the Soldiers understand his Resolution, and to encourage them, began to build him a pleasure-house upon *Palermos* Hill. *Mustapha* also, though he had orders to repair to his Government, ventur'd to give three Assaults successively upon the *English* Bastion with the *Mamelucks*, who were so ill entertain'd, the greatest part of them being kill'd or wounded, that the rest retir'd to their Quarters, resolving to return no more. *Peri* secretly undermin'd the *Italian* Bastion, & the Mine indeed made a terrible noise and shaking, but took vent on the Camp side, and kill'd a great many of the *Turks*.

Mustapha having such ill success, thought it not convenient to stay any longer, so that upon his departure *Achmat* was made General. He continu'd

tinu'd the siege with the same violence, so that there was not a day pass'd wherein he did not both batter, Assault and undermine the defences of the City. However the Grand Master remitted nothing of his wonted care and diligence, fighting and hazarding his person every where, where need requir'd, beyond what was reasonable for a person of his degree and Importance.

And now when it was almost too late, those conspiracies and treasons were discover'd, which were the loss of the Island. For in the first place *Lucio Castrophilaca*, a *Rhodian*, and a person of great wealth, reputation and alliances, who had the charge of the fortifications, the bread and ammunition was perceiv'd, at a time and in a place very much to be suspected, to have shot an arrow into the *Turkish* Camp, who was thereupon lay hold on, examin'd, and put upon the wrack, but would confess nothing to the purpose. Next to him *Blas Diez* Servant to the Chancellor

cellour *D'Amaral*, was taken in the same fact, and being put to the Torture, confess'd his Masters Treason, declaring how he had wrote to the *Turks Basba's* to continue the Siege, for that both men and provisions fail'd in the City. Thereupon the Grand Master caus'd the Chancellour to be apprehended, who being examin'd and tortur'd, would confess nothing himself; but being convicted by sufficient testimonies, confirm'd to his face by his Servant, his Servant was hang'd, and he beheaded, dying without any sign of repentance or Christian devotion.

In the mean time the Canons of the Enemy thunder'd against the Bastion of *Italy*, where they ruin'd all the defences and Barricado's that *Martinego* had rais'd; by which means they advanc'd their Trenches to the very foot of the Breach. The Bastion of *England* was also beaten down to the Ground, and the most part of the Barricado's and entrenchments ruin'd, so that some advis'd the quitting and blowing it up. But because that

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signifi'd little in regard of the vast numbers of the *Turks*, the Grand Master resolv'd to hold it out to the utmost, and to that end gave the command of it to the Chevalier *John de Bin*, who kept it to the last.

At this time arriv'd the Chevalier *de Rocque Martin* with twelve Knights, a hundred Souldiers and some Ammunition. But notwithstanding this small relief, the Grand Master observing the desperate condition of the City (for now in some places there were no other defences but beames and boards between the Enemy and him, beside that they had set up three Pravillions within the City neer the *Rhodian* entrenchments) sent away to *Candy* for Souldiers, Ammunition and victuals, which the Duke of *Candy* had provided, as also to *Naples* to hasten the succours, which the winter season hinder'd from coming.

In the mean while the *Turks* gave too desperate Assaults upon the *Italian* and *Spanish* Platforms, but were still repuls'd with the loss of above

love 3000 men. Infomuch that *Achmat* finding it impossible to take the City by force, resolv'd to give no more Assaults, but rather chose to preserve his men, who were grown quite weary of the Christian valour; nevertheless he continu'd his batteries, and advanc'd his Trenches, thinking to creep by degrees into the City. *Solyman* also thinking to make short work caus'd several Letters to be shot into the City, inviting the Inhabitants to surrender, offering them all the Immunities they could desire; and threatning on the other side in case of obstinacy, all the severity imaginable. *Peri* also suborn'd a *Genoese*, who having liberty to speak to the Knights, adviz'd them as Christians to consider the deplorable condition of the City, and told them withal, that if they were so dispos'd, he could put them in a way to make an honourable composition; but they believing him to be some impostor, sent under hand by *Solyman* or his *Basha's*, gave little credit to his words. Two dayes after
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he came to the same place, pretending he had a Letter from the Grand Signiour, but then they bid him retire, and to force him the sooner so to do, they shot at him.

Some while after came the *Albanian* Souldier before mention'd, pretending Letters also from *Solyman* to the Grand Master. But then the Grand Master forbid any farther Parlying.

However these offers were divulg'd abroad in the City, which begat in many a desire to heark'n to propositions of peace as more regarding their wives and Children then their honour. And it was carry'd so far, that some of the Citizens went and declar'd their desires to the *Metropolitan*, and some of the Grand Cross, requesting them to declare their grievances to the Grand Master. But he severely check'd them, telling them that it was not a request to be mention'd; that they should rather resolve to die for the common liberty, and the Honour of the Order. The next day they came and besought him again to provide
for

for the Common safety, for that they were assur'd that the Citizens would yeild to a treaty, rather then be cut in pieces themselves, their wives and children. Then the Grand Master finding himself press'd and importun'd of all hands, submitted to necessity, and call'd a general Council. So soon as the Council was sat, a Petition was presented to the Grand Master, humbly requesting him to think of a Capitulation; or at least to give them leave to secure their wives and children; and at the foot of the petition was an intimation that if the Grand Master would not, they would provide for them themselves. In this distress the Grand Master; desirous to know the condition of the City more particularly, before he would resolve any farther, requir'd the advice of the *Prior of St. Giles*, and *Martinego*, who both declar'd in full Council that in either consciences, and upon their Honour and allegiance, they could not think the City any longer tenable, the Enemy being lodg'd
forty

forty yards one way, and 30 yards another way within the City, so that it was impossible for them to retire any farther, nor for the Enemy to be beaten out.

Upon the advice and Relation of two such judicious and great men, the whole Council considering how much it concern'd them to preserve the holy Reliques and the souls and honour of so many Christian Women and Children, and the evident danger of the whole Orders being dispierc'd and abolish'd, if all that were there should be lost, resolv'd with one accord to Capitulate. The Grand Master still lay'd before them, the duty that lay upon them to preserve the honour of the Order, which had never yet bin defil'd with any stain of cowardice or pusillanimity, having alwaies preferr'd their honour and Death before the safety of their Lives, But the Council overrul'd him with so many circumstantial and solid reasons, that he was constrain'd to yield to the present and inevitable necessity,

necessity, and their grave advice. This design Heav'n was so far pleas'd to favour, that *Solyman* began first. For he first set up an Ensign upon the Church of St. *Mary de Lermonitra*; and then the Grand Master set up another upon the Mill belonging to the *Cosquin* Gate. Immediately two *Turks* came out of the Trenches, desiring to parley: upon which the Grand Master sent forth the Prior of St. *Giles* and *Martinengo*; to whom the *Turks* deliver'd a Letter from *Solyman*.

This Letter was read in Council; wherein *Solyman* demanded a surrender of the Town, & offer'd the Knights liberty to be gone, with security for their persons and their Baggage: which if they would not accept, he was resolv'd to put all to the sword. Thereupon in consideration onely of the people and Inhabitants of the Town, the same Resolution was again taken, and the Chevalier *Anthony de Grolee*, and *Robert Perucci*, Judge of the *Castillians*, were commissioned to attend *Solyman*. So soon

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as they were gone forth, a near Kinsman of *Achmats*, and a *Trucheman* much favour'd by the *Grand Turk*, were admitted unto *Rhodes* as Hostages, and a truce was concluded for three dayes.

The next day *Achmat* presented the Embassadours to *Solyman*, who declar'd to him what they had in commission, *Solyman* to maintain his Reputation, firmly deny'd that he had ever wrote or sent to the *Grand Master*; nevertheless since the *Grand Master* had sent to him upon the same Occasion, he commanded them to let him know his mind, which was the same that he had written, and demanded his Resolution within three dayes, and that in the mean time there should be no working toward the repair of their fortifications, being firmly resolv'd, though all *Turky* perish'd, not to stir out of the Island, till he had *Rhodes* in his possession. And having so said, he dismiss'd them. *Perucci* return'd to the City. But *Achmat* kept the Chevalier *Grollee* with

With him, led him into his Pavilion, and caus'd him to drink with him ; and discoursing of several passages in the siege, *Achmat* told him with a great oath ; that above forty thousand *Turks* had bin slain, and as many were sick and wounded. *Peruoci* having made his report to the Council; it was resolv'd upon good considerations that they should not accept those conditions the first time, but send other Commissioners.

In the mean time certain of the Citizens took upon them, and were mightily offended that the Capitulation was begun, without their privacy. Declaring also that they would never consent to any such conditions, but rather die with their Swords in their hands for their liberty, then surrender themselves to the power of the *Turk*. For that whatever the *Turk* promis'd, he would be sure to exercise nothing, but rapine and slaughter as he had done at *Belgrade*. The Grand Master observing this *Grecian* fickleness, told them in friendly man-

ner that the Resolutions he had taken, were resolv'd upon upon mature deliberation; which consultations were to be kept secret that they might not come to the Enemies knowledge, and that it was more for their safety then for the good of the Order, that they made any conditions at all. To which purpose he was sending away other Commissioners the better to assure himself of *Solymans* word and fidelity. With which answer the Citizens shew'd themselves very well satisfy'd.

Upon this two other Commissioners were dispatch'd away, *Raymond Marquet*, and *Lopezde Pas*, both *Spanish* Knights, who represented to *Solyman* that the Grand Master had to confer with several people of several Nations that the time Limited was too short, and therefore desir'd that he would be pleas'd to grant them a longer time. *Solyman* not relishing this discourse without saying any more, commanded *Achmat* to continue his batteries, which were begun

begun again upon the 15th. of December and so the Truce was broken. *Solyman* however detain'd one of the Commissioners, which shew'd that he had yet some inclinations to capitulate. The Grand Master observing the Hostility-begun again, and that the *Turks* advanc'd with their Trenches farther and farther into the Town, sent for them that hinder'd the treaty, and protested to live and die with them, and commanded all the Inhabitants to repair home to their Quarters there to keep guard, and that no person should quit his Quarters upon pain of Death. This Order was observ'd for two days, but the 3^d. a young man left his Quarters and went and lay at home, for which the Grand Master commanded him to be hang'd. Some few days after that, all the rest of the Inhabitants lost both their courage and their patience, and forsook the walls and breaches, so that the *Turks* might easily have enter'd, had not the Grand Master withstood them

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with that small handful of men which he had left him ; which some few dayes after was a little augmented by the coming of the Chevalier *D'Andugar*, and the Chevalier *Farfan* an *English* man, with a hundred Souldiers and some Wine.

This Wine was a great consolation to the City, besides that the Ship made such Bravado's as it enter'd the Port, that the *Turks* generally believ'd it had brought a Relief of above a Thousand men. However the *Turks* continu'd their Assaults, and particularly they made a violent onset upon the *Spanish Barbican*, from which, though they were at first repuls'd, yet returning with such vast numbers the *Rhodians* were overwhelmed and oppress'd by multitude, and forc'd to retire into the City. The *Turks* having gain'd the *Barbican*, presently came to the foot of the *English* wall, and by the Ruins of the *Barbican* got to the top of it, and there planted several of their Colours. The Citizens beholding the Extream danger

danger they were in, confess'd their folly, and besought the Grand Master, as the common Father, to provide for their safety, who gave them liberty to constitute Deputies of their own to attend *Solyman*, and to procure particular security from him for themselves, and order'd them to go along with the Chevalier *Grollee*.

The Grand Master however having some hopes of relief, to the end he might temporize for a while, sent *Perucci* first to shew to *Solyman* a Letter of *Bajazet* his Grandfather, wherein he bequeath'd his malediction to those of his successors that should make war against *Rhodes*. *Perucci* address'd himself to *Achmat*, who desirous to see the Letter, took it, and having torn it to pieces, threw it under his feet in great disdain. Having so done, he sent *Perucci* back to the Grand Master, to tell him, that if he did not suddenly return *Solyman* an answer, he must expect to be miserable.

However the Grand Master had one more delay, which was to offer to *Solyman* by the proposal of the *Chevalier de Grollee*, otherwise call'd *Passin*, the expences and charges of the whole siege, if he would rise from before it. But *Achmat* would not suffer any such word to be deliver'd to *Solyman*, saying that *Solyman* had more regard to his honour and his Reputation then to all the Riches in the World. At length the Grand Master finding no way to avoyd an agreement, and that delay would be the Loss of all, vanquish'd his own courage, and overwhelm'd with grief and vexation, gave his word to surrender the Town upon the conditions propos'd. To which purpose he sent away the *Chevalier Passin* & the Deputies of the Town, who were presented to his Majesty; to whom the Knights declar'd that the Grand Master was now resolv'd to surrender the City upon the conditions propos'd to him, upon a full assurance in the faith and promises of his Majesty, and hum-
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bly entreated him to favour the Inhabitants in the petition which they had to present to him for their peace and safety. The Inhabitants besought him to remove his Army a little farther off, that they might not receive any Injury either in their persons or goods, and that those that would be gone might depart in safety. *Solyman* accepted the offer of the Grand Master, and promis'd to observe inviolably every article of the Capitulation. " That the Churches should " not be profan'd; that none of the " Children should be carry'd away " as *Tribute Children* to make Janissaries. That the Christians should " have the free exercise of their Religion. That the Inhabitants should " be exempt from all duties for five " years. That they that would might " depart in three years with their Estates unmolested. That *Solyman* " should furnish the Order with Ships " sufficient to carry them and their " Subjects to *Candy*. That they " should carry off as many of their
" great

" great Guns as they could Load.
 " That the Castles of *St. Peter, Lango,*
 " and the other Islands and Fortref-
 " ses belonging to the Order shall be
 " surrender'd to *Solyman*. After that
 " *Achmat* sent into the City 400 Jani-
 " saries with an *Aga* to take possessi-
 " on, and the Grand Master sent into
 " the Camp for Hostages 25 Knights,
 " and as many Citizens, who were
 " by *Achmat* curteously entertain'd.

In the mean time *Achmat* came
 to visit the Grand Master in the Moat
 of the *Spanish* Post, where after
 some discourse between them,
 he gave the Grand Master Notice
 that *Solyman* was desirous to see him,
 and therefore adviz'd him, as his
 best course, to go and wait upon
 him. The Grand Master unwilling
 to provoke *Solyman*, and to give
 him any occasion to break his word,
 by being severe either to the
 Knights or the *Rhodians*, resolv'd
 to follow *Achmat's* advice. The
 next morning therefore he went,
 in a plain habit, accompani'd with
 several

several of the Knights ; and after he had attended for some time before *Solymans* Tent, he was presented with a noble Vest, that *Solyman* gave him ; which so soon as he had put on, he was introduc'd into the Grand Signiours Pavilion, and kiss'd his hand. *Solyman* receiv'd him curteously, chear'd him up, and told him by his interpreter, that it was a common thing to loose or gain Cities and Signiories through the Instability of Fortune ; exhorted him to take his loss patiently, and assur'd him of a most punctual performance of all his promises. Then turning to his own people. I cannot but pity, said he, this brave *Man*, *whom in his Old Age ; Necessity thus compels to abandon the Seat of his own Dominion.* The Grand Master return'd him thanks, besought him to remember what he had promis'd, and so taking his leave, retir'd. *Solyman* caus'd him

to be guarded into the City, and gave habits of honour to all the Knights that attended him.

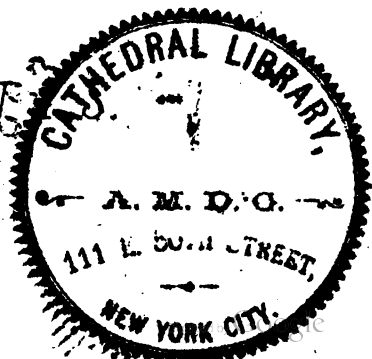
Three days after *Solyman* himself rode to view the Trenches, the Batteries, the Breaches, and the Tower of *St. Nicholas*. Upon his return he enter'd the Palace attended only by *Achmat*, and *Ibrahim*, then a Page, but highly belov'd by him, and ask'd for the Grand Master. When he saw him, he made a kind of offer to raise his Turbant from his head with his hand, out of respect not permitting the Grand Master to make any obeysance to him below his dignity. Bidding him fear nothing, and telling him withall, if he had not time enough, he would allow him more. The Grand Master return'd him thanks, but desir'd nothing more of him than to be mindful of his promise. Thereupon *Solyman* remounted, and having view'd the Church of *St. John*, return'd to his Pavilion.

Upon

· Upon *New-years* day the Grand Master having taken his leave of *Solyman*, and embark'd as many of the choicest great Guns as the time would permit, attended by all the Knights, and as many of the best of the Citizens, who rather chose to follow his fortunes, then submit to the Tyranny of the *Turks*, went aboard the Gallies appointed to carry the disconsolate Traine, and the best of their goods, and steer'd away for *Candy*.

Thus did The Order of *St. John* loose *Rhodes*, after they had held and maintain'd it with so much constancy, so much Expenditure of treasure, and loss of blood, against the whole power of the Barbarous *Mahometans*, for the space of two hundred and thirty years.

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AUG 18 1911

JUN 27 1912

SEP 5 1914

FEB 5 1915



